CMP-SPRCM-75-22

SELECTIONS FROM PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MAGAZINES

US
American Consulate General
Hong Kong, B. C. C.

July 28-August 5, 1975

U. I. C. C.
SEP 26 1975
LIBRARY

DISTRIBUTED BY:

NTIS

National Technical Information Service
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

CMP-SPRCM-75-22

Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines

American Consulate General
Hong Kong, B.C.C.

No. 831-832
July 28-Aug. 5, 1975

This edition is printed in the United States of America for dissemination in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, the Mediterranean, and the west coast of Africa from material produced by the American Consulate General, Hong Kong. All queries concerning this edition should be sent to:

National Technical Information
Service (152.12)
U.S. Department of Commerce
Springfield, Virginia 22151

TABLE OF CONTENTS

(Hung-ch'i No. 7, July 1, 1975)

Page

Promote Investigation and Study - by Ch'ih Heng (p. 3) 2

Consolidate and Develop the Achievements of Going to the Mountainous and Rural Areas - by Ch'i Chien (p. 6) 6

Do a Good Job in Ideological Education Work - by Liang Hua (p. 10) 11

Publish More and Better Reading Material for Private Study by Young People - by Chai Ch'ing (p. 12) 14

Reproduced by
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
US Department of Commerce
Springfield, VA. 22151

PRICES SUBJECT TO CHANGE

Page

Bring the Vanguard Role of Party Organizations into Full Play - by Pai Shan (p. 17) 20

Strengthen Party Building Ideologically and Organizationally - by Hsiang Hui (p. 20) 24

Grasp Ideological Education Among Party Members in the Rural Areas (p. 25) 30

Be a Communist in Fact as Well as Name - by Li Tseng-hsi (p. 29) 35

Correctly Understand Our Country's Commodity System - by Cheng K'ai (p. 32) 39

Strive to Make the Subjective Conform to the Objective (p. 37) 45

Three Short Commentaries (p. 43)

The Idea of Work According to Pay Is Bad - by Li Hsiao-ssu 51

Do We Have To Rely on "Gifts" in Promoting Cooperation? 53

Beginning with a Red Cord for Hairdressing 55

Study Theory, Promote Production (p. 49) 58

The Legalist Line and Taoist Thought - by K'ang Li and Wei Chin (p. 53) 62

Run Agriculture in Line with Chairman Mao's Thinking - by Ko Ching 75

The Fundamental Question in Doing a Good Job in Iron and Steel Production Is the Line - by Chang Ti (p. 68) 81

Pay Attention to Developing Light Industry - by Chung Ch'eng (p. 72) 86

Do Commodity Supply Work Well for the Revolution (p. 76) 90

* * *

Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in People's Republic of China periodicals.

Quotations from Chairman Mao

To lead the revolution to victory, a political party must rely on the correctness of its political line and its organizational solidarity.

In doing everything, we Communists must adopt two methods. One is to combine the general with the specific, the other to combine the leadership and the masses.

Unite for one purpose, that is, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in every factory, village, government office, and school.

The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the class struggle between the different political forces, and the class struggle in the ideological field between the proletarian and the bourgeoisie will continue to be long and tortuous and at times will even become very acute. The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, and so does the bourgeoisie. In this respect, the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled.

* * *

Promote Investigation and Study

by

Ch'ih Heng (池恒)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975)

Under the personal leadership of great leader Chiarman Mao, the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is being developed in depth step by step. While persistently reading and studying, we must strengthen investigation and study so as to continue developing the movement of study in a down-to-earth way in the direction pointed out by Chairman Mao.

To go deep into reality and carry out investigation and study is an important link in studying well the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao points out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on this question will lead to revisionism. This should be made known to the whole nation." To exercise overall dictatorship over the bourgeoisie is not only a profound question of theory but also a major question of practice. To thoroughly understand this question, it is necessary to combine theory with practice and pay attention to both theory and practice. It is wrong to place emphasis on one while ignoring the other. We can say that we have really understood the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat only if we have clarified this question not only in reading and study but also in actual application.

Unity between theory and practice is a Marxist-Leninist ideological principle Chairman Mao has always upheld. Rational knowledge depends on perceptual knowledge, and perceptual knowledge must be developed into rational knowledge. Guided by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, we will gain an even deeper understanding of theory if we thoroughly understand actual conditions and, in the course of practice, develop the perceptual knowledge we have gained into rational knowledge. To study theory is for the sole purpose of applying it. Therefore, we cannot separate our study from our efforts to study and analyze actual conditions. During the current movement of study, the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been closely linked with the revolutionary practice of millions and millions of people, and this has played a significant role in guiding, inspiring and promoting China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. However, can we say that we have thoroughly understood the question of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? No, we cannot. On the question of theory, Chairman Mao in his instruction used dialectical and historical materialism to examine and analyze socialist society, put forward many major theoretical and practical issues that have to be solved during the historical period of socialism, and formulated important militant tasks to combat and prevent revisionism and carry out socialist revolution in a deepgoing manner. In dealing with these issues, we must conscientiously study and read, maintain close touch with reality, conduct investigation and study, and sum up our experience so as to gradually deepen our understanding of and implement Chairman Mao's

revolutionary line and his various proletarian policies in the course of struggle.

During the historical period of socialism, there is the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and between the Marxist line and the revisionist line. This struggle is protracted, tortuous and complex. We must use the dialectical concept of the unity of opposites to analyze objective things and avoid idealism and metaphysics. As with everything else in the world, things in the period of socialism also have a dual character and specific historical features. For instance, the commodity system and exchange by means of money are allowed to exist, but they must be restricted. For another instance, there is harmony as well as conflict between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. In order to clearly understand these questions in all spheres, we must regard Chairman Mao's instruction as the guide, conduct investigation and study in a deepgoing manner, appropriate detailed information, and make a more general and concrete analysis of actual conditions. We should raise our rich practice to the suitable level of theory, and find out the laws which are inherent in it, not those that are only imaginary. Only by so doing will it be possible for us to have a reliable basis for tackling problems. In order to concretely analyze the question of bourgeois right, we must understand its manifestations in all fields, its source and changes through an investigation of actual conditions. The essence of bourgeois right is to practice an unequal system under the slogan of equality, and its existence is invitable in the historical period of socialism, so it must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This situation will only end with the advent of communism. We must study Chairman Mao's many important statements on the question of bourgeois right, sum up our own historical experience, and carry out systematic and meticulous investigation and study of present conditions so as to correctly understand the question of restricting bourgeois right and adopt proper measures to this end.

With the development of the study movement, many practical problems have cropped up and will crop up before us. To conscientiously study these problems and find the way to solve them is an important aspect of linking theory with practice in clearly undestanding the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Studying theory by maintaining close touch with reality will serve to raise, not lower the standard of study. Some comrades hesitate in making decisions when they encounter problems. Some deal with problems rashly or adopt a wait-and-see attitude. This shows that they have not studied theory well. It also indicates a lack of investigation and study in handling these problems. We must clearly understand the conditions, have firm determination and adopt correct measures. To clearly understand the conditions is an important prerequisite. Chairman Mao says: "You can't solve a problem? Well, get down and investigate the present facts and its past history! When you have investigated the problem thoroughly, you will know how to solve it." It is not difficult to solve complicated problems step by step if we carefully investigate and study the problems of the proletariat's exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all fields in accordance with the correct ideological and political line, understand the past

and present conditions, analyze their internal as well as external connections, and continuously deepen our awareness in the course of practice.

To conduct investigation and study, leaders at all levels must personally take the lead in "dissecting sparrows," in running trial points well. Combining general with specific guidance is a Marxist method of leadership which has always been upheld by Chairman Mao. Any leader who is not good at gaining typical experience cannot provide general guidance in work. In the historical period of socialism, there are many new tasks that we must do and many new problems we must solve. In solving these problems, we must follow the principle of concentrating the ideas from the masses and then taking them back to them for persistent execution in order to form correct opinions of leadership. In the course of concentrating ideas and persevering in them, it is necessary to use the method of combining the general with specific guidance and carry out experiments well in selected places so as to use the experience gained in one place to guide the work of the whole area. This is a prerequisite in formulating any policy and guideline as well as in doing a good job of any kind of work.

Whether it is necessary to conduct investigation and study has never been an ordinary question concerning the method of work, but a question of line. Chairman Mao has always upheld the integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of China's revolution, and stressed that it is necessary to conduct investigation and study in all work. He points out incisively: "Without investigating the actual situation, there is bound to be an idealist appraisal of class forces and idealist guidance in work, resulting either in opportunism or in putschism." Proceeding from subjective idealism, the chieftains of the revisionist lines like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao vigorously attacked the method of investigation and study as being "outdated" and "unworkable," for the purpose of opposing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and promoting a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. We must act on Chairman Mao's teachings, raise our awareness in conducting investigation and study, truly go deep into reality, and understand and solve several problems. This will help us wash away the idealist spirit and eradicate the influence of revisionism in practical work. It will also help us criticize the idea of bourgeois right. Our cadres at all levels, particularly leading cadres, must strive to achieve this.

In 1942, Chairman Mao issued a call to the whole Party: "Learn how to apply the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method in the serious study of China's history, and of China's economics, politics, military affairs and culture, and to analyze every problem concretely on the basis of detailed material and then draw theoretical conclusions." This call is of tremendous actual significance in the present movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. When we, on the basis of seriously reading and studying and applying the mass-line method and method of class analysis, carry out investigations and study on the question of properly exercising proletarian dictatorship in various fields, and determine our working policies in light of actual conditions,

we will certainly achieve a greater success in studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and push China's socialist revolution and socialist construction further ahead.

* * *

Consolidate and Develop the Achievements of Going to the Mountainous and Rural Areas

by

Ch'i Chien (齐 坚)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975)

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, millions upon millions of educated young people have, in response to Chairman Mao's call, gone to the mountainous and rural areas, forming a spectacular revolutionary torrent. This is of far-reaching significance in combating and preventing revisionism, narrowing the three major differences, restricting bourgeois right, and training millions upon millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Motivated by the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must further consolidate and develop the great achievements in this regard.

Chairman Mao's call upon "educated youth to go to the countryside to be re-educated by poor and lower-middle peasants" points out the direction of advance for the vast numbers of educated young people in our country. The arrival of the educated youth in the countryside from the cities represents an encouraging step taken by them in embarking on the bright road of rustication as indicated by Chairman Mao. This step is great, but greater steps still lie ahead. However, some comrades are already satisfied with this step, thinking that the "mobilization" work has been concluded, as has the work of sending youth to the mountainous and rural areas. This view is wrong. Chairman Mao says: "Many obstacles and difficulties still lie along the road of revolution." For educated youth to go to the mountainous and rural areas is a profound revolution that is bound to encounter a host of obstacles and difficulties. Every step forward has to be severely tested in the struggle between the two classes, two lines and two kinds of ideologies. Therefore, we must ardently support the educated young people in taking the road to the mountainous and rural areas unswervingly. Many comrades say rightly: "Wherever the educated young people go, we must support them and care for them." This utterly responsible attitude toward rustication of youth is praiseworthy as it reflects the natural features of a revolutionary cadre.

In order to consolidate and develop the achievements of rustication, there are lots of jobs to be done by various departments on various fronts. However, some comrades think that the consolidation of rustication is left to the countryside after the educated young people have arrived there. This is an erroneous viewpoint separating mobilization from consolidation. To consolidate and develop the achievements of rustication is important for the whole Party and work should be carried out under the Party's unified leadership and by relying on various forces in society. It is a matter that concerns rural Party organizations and comrades working in the rural areas as it concerns urban Party organizations and comrades working in cities. Over the past years, in some cities cadres of government offices have been organized

to go to rural areas where educated youths have settled down to carry out investigation and comfort work. Together with local rural Party organizations and poor and lower-middle peasants, they have done work of consolidation. They have not only made a round of those places where the educated young people work, but have also carried out penetrating and meticulous investigations and study, helping the educated youth solve the actual difficulties which face them at the moment on the one hand and solving some fundamental problems on the other. Now, industrial, financial and trade, and cultural and educational departments in some provinces and cities have placed the work of consolidating and developing the fruits of rustication on the order of the day--a practice that should be encouraged. Some industrial departments, besides actively fulfilling their tasks of supplying products in support of agriculture according to the state plan, have draw up inventories of their stocks and tapped the potential, so that, in accordance with the policies of the Party and State, they may provide material support for the countryside in a planned way, in particular for those areas where rusticated educated youths are relatively concentrated. In other cities, workers have been organized to go to the countryside to help the educated youth learn to repair machines and to help train technicians. Some commercial departments have assisted those areas with more rusticated educated youths in developing a diversified economy and opening up channels of production, supply and marketing. Some cultural, educational and publishing departments have actively sponsored correspondence courses for rusticated educated youths, published books for private study by the young people, and unfolded agricultural scientific experiments, and so on. These actions have been deeply appreciated by the rusticated educated youths. Comrades on all fronts, let's all seriously think: What have we done in consolidating and developing the fruits of rustication and in caring for the growth of educated youth? What more should we do?

Some comrades are merely satisfied with "welcoming" the educated youth into the village. When the beating of gong and drum has stopped and when these young people have registered and been given jobs, all work is over. This is as wrong as the idea of grasping only "mobilization" mentioned above. It would be even more absurd to look upon the educated youth as a "liability" and this kind of work as an "extra burden," and comrades holding such a negative attitude often lack a correct understanding of the educated youth. Chairman Mao says: "The young people are the most active and vital force in society. They are the most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking. This is especially so in the era of socialism." Among the broad masses of rusticated educated youth is deposited a vast fund of socialist enthusiasm. Full of vigor, they want to do something great. They are determined to narrow the three major differences and restrict bourgeois right. This is the essential aspect, the main current. But, on the other hand, due to the influence of bourgeois ideas and of the force of habits of small production, and in particular, due to flattery and corruption by the class enemy, the rusticated educated youths may have this or that problem. Having seen these problems and analyzed them with Marxism, we should all the more realize our tremendous responsibility in doing a good job of rustication. Lacking political experience and experience in social life, not a few young people are still relatively childish, but they will

mature. Every rusticated educated youth should be treated as a young shoot to be carefully nurtured. In fact, where Party organizations attach major importance to rustication work, there the educated youth will progress fast, play a significant role in the three great revolutionary movements, and, instead of being a "liability," become a very valuable force in the revolutionary cause. On the other hand, in those places where rustication work is not properly done and the revolutionary enthusiasm of the educated youth is not brought into full play, the reason is often that the socialist position there is not so solid and the capitalist ill winds are more rampant. Therefore, Party organizations at all levels in the countryside, especially Party committees at the county and commune levels, must organically combine rustication work with the consolidation of the rural socialist position and must show overall concern for the growth of the rusticated educated youth politically and in regard to production and livelihood.

To consolidate and develop the fruits of rustication, it is necessary for us not only to have warm feelings toward the educated youth, but also to exert hard efforts. A county Party committee secretary says well: "The educated youths entrust their life to the Party, and we Party organizations at all levels must arrange their life well." Not only is it necessary to care for their political and academic progress, but it is also necessary to arrange their production and livelihood in accordance with specific local conditions. It is necessary to consider not only their present but also their future life. A case in point is Tingnan county, Kiangsi province. This county is located in a mountainous region south of the province. At first, rusticated educated youths were scattered in various teams. Through investigations and study and extensively soliciting the views and opinions of the educated youths and the poor and lower-middle peasants, the comrades of the county Party committee concluded that in view of actual local conditions, rusticated educated youths should not be scattered too widely and instead should be relatively concentrated. After tests in a few points, they adopted appropriate methods of concentrating the rusticated educated youths by setting up youth teams and farms under the system of collective ownership and with the necessary material assistance to be provided by the departments concerned. Guided by the policy "take grain as the key link and insure all-round development" and in view of the fact that this mountain region has little farmland but rich natural and forest resources, these youth teams and farms have gone in for agriculture as well as for a diversified economy. Where conditions permit, they have also set up small factories and handicraft workshops, tilling the fields during busy farm seasons and working on the bench during slack farm periods. These youth teams and farms have many advantages. Relative concentration of educated youths helps strengthen leadership and organization for study. Since young people with different conditions work together and each can develop his special skills, those physically weak educated youth may also play their part within their capabilities. As more young people are concentrated and organized into teams and farms, they lead a collective life and eat in messhalls, and as they do not have private plots, their collective concept has grown. After one to two years of hard work, some youth teams and farms have doubled their grain output and developed their side-occupations more substantially. They have not only created the conditions for developing and expanding the economies of communes and brigades,

but also increased the income of the educated youth, thereby lightening the burden on society and their families. Some of them have also intended to use part of their accumulations for building new villages and nurseries, thereby creating favorable conditions for solving in a practical manner the livelihood problems of the educated youths. What Tingnan county has achieved is one of the fairly good organizational forms, and certain conditions are required. Besides, other places have created a variety of other effective forms based on local conditions. But whatever form is adopted, provided that, guided by the correct line, we fully arouse the socialist enthusiasm of the rusticated educated youths and guide them to work hard and self-reliantly, much can be done in this vast world.

For millions upon millions of educated youths to go to mountainous and rural areas is a strategic measure for the proletariat to exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and to create the conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. The fact that some comrades of ours have looked upon rustication work as an "extra burden" is, in the final analysis, due to their insufficient understanding of the major significance of this socialist new thing. They always feel that they are so busy with rural work with its many ramifications that they practically have no time to bother about and solve the problems involving the rustication of the educated young people. Such a view which sets rustication work against the various rural tasks is metaphysical. These comrades often tend to see only the concrete affairs before them without seeing the urgent need for educated youths in achieving the modernization and mechanization in the countryside nor the fact that training millions upon millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat is a long-term plan for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is because they belittle this important matter of rustication and mistakenly regard it as an "extra burden." We hope that those comrades who have up to now still failed to give serious attention to rustication work will achieve a flying leap in their understanding and act with a remarkable difference after studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat provides a huge motive force for consolidating and developing the fruits of rustication. Chairman Mao points out: "Why did Lenin speak of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? This question must be thoroughly understood. Lack of clarity on it will lead to revisionism." With millions upon millions of educated youths going to the mountainous and rural areas, this will effectively restrict bourgeois right, narrow the three major differences, and remove the soil breeding capitalism and new bourgeois elements. At present, by studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the broad masses of rusticated educated youth have greatly enhanced their consciousness of the need to strike root in the countryside. They express their determination to stand erect like green pines not to be shaken by wind or storm. They say: "Confucius said 'one who excels in study becomes an official,' but this cannot lure us. Nor can Lin Piao's fallacy about 'reform through labor in a disguised form' shake us." This shows that in-depth study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat will generate a huge force in promoting rustication of youths. Therefore, in consolidating and developing the fruits of rustication, the most basic thing to do is to organize the rusticated educated

youths to seriously study the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, have a good grasp of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and constantly raise their consciousness of going to mountainous and rural areas, besides encouraging them to bravely challenge the idea of bourgeois right and make the most radical rupture with the traditional concept of private ownership. Steady blows must be dealt to the criminal activities of the class enemies in undermining the work of rustication.

Millions upon millions of educated youths are presently marching in broad strides along the brilliant road of rustication indicated by Chairman Mao. The great historical tide of rustication is irresistible. Let's all support this great beginning!

* * *

Do a Good Job in Ideological Education Work

by

Liang Hua (梁 华)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975)

Getting hold of ideological education is the central link for uniting the whole Party in carrying out great political struggles. Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory has given a very strong impetus to strengthening ideological education work and to uniting the whole Party and the people of the whole country in carrying out the great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism. Now, the cadres and the masses are gradually raising their Marxist level, with changes in varying degrees taking place in their spiritual features.

Through studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, many comrades have begun to understand that since socialist society has just emerged from capitalist society, it is thus in various respects, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges. In socialist society there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is still bourgeois right, small production may still continue to engender capitalism and bourgeois elements, and bourgeois ideology is still constantly attacking the sinews of our revolutionary ranks. Chairman Mao points out: "Lenin said, 'Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." Indeed, whether our Party members, workers and cadres preserve the militant style of the proletariat or are contaminated by the bourgeois style of life is a vital aspect of class struggle under the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is with a view to changing the nature of our Party, subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism that the class enemies vainly attempt to use the bourgeois style of life to corrupt and break up our revolutionary ranks. That is why we must step up ideological education work, continue to conduct Marxist education--education on combating and preventing revisionism--within the whole Party and among the people of the whole country, and make cadres and the masses raise their line consciousness unceasingly through penetratingly studying Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and criticizing the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. If we relax ideological education work and allow bourgeois things to corrupt people and allow wrong things to spread unchecked everywhere, that would amount to opening the doors for capitalist restoration.

Studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a widespread and profound Marxist education movement, and also constitutes the basic aspect of the Party's ideological education work. Theory is the

guide to action, and when we make things clear theoretically and are sure of ourselves ideologically, we will act with resolve. If we really make clear the question of proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie on the plane of linking theory with practice, if we understand why and how dictatorship has to be exercised over the bourgeoisie in an all-round manner and how to persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we will consciously take part in the fight to criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism and gradually dig away the soil breeding the bourgeoisie. The more we study theory and the clearer we are about it, the more powerful will be our criticism of and attack on the bourgeoisie and revisionism. When such phenomena as the influence of revisionism, the bourgeois style of life and the idea of bourgeois right are recognized in their essence and the social and historical causes of these things and their harm to the revolution are understood by people, they will be resisted and opposed by the vast numbers of cadres and the masses. Now, after a few months of study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the cadres and the masses have raised to various extents their political and ideological consciousness. New people and new deeds in resisting erosion by bourgeois ideology and freeing from the bondage of the idea of bourgeois right have emerged everywhere, and the excellent situation of stability and unity has further developed. Bourgeois and revisionist things have been subdued everywhere, their market shrinking continuously. Facts, both positive and negative, have vividly demonstrated to us the tremendous effects of studying Marxism and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as the importance of intensifying the Party's ideological education work. To further grasp the study of theory and earnestly step up ideological education to enable hundreds of millions of revolutionary people to master the theoretical weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat--this will produce a huge material force making it possible for still greater victories to be gained in our socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The study of Marxism and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a long-term task. We must do a good job in ideological education work in order to enable people to gradually accept Marxism and master the theoretical weapon in combating and preventing revisionism. Ideological education being a piece of delicate work, we can only adopt the attitude of persuasion and not coercive means when doing such work. "It is not only ineffective but extremely harmful to use simple methods to deal with ideological problems, problems of the spiritual world, among the people." There are always social and epistemological reasons for some comrades in our ranks to be afflicted by bourgeois ideology or to produce some wrong ideas. It is only when people in the course of studying Marxism and summing up experience really recognize the reactionary and decadent nature of bourgeois ideology that they can subdue it consciously. Although some erroneous ideological tendencies have all along been opposed by us, yet even now they continue to appear in some spheres and in the minds of some people, and these things often cannot be completely subdued at one time. For this reason, we must carry out patient, prudent and repeated education, and help those comrades who have these wrong ideological tendencies to make an effort to study revolutionary theory, to persist in

integrating theory with reality, to make self-criticism bravely, and gradually eradicate their wrong ideas completely in the practice of struggle. "Completely changing the world outlook takes a very long time, and we should work patiently, not rashly."

In carrying out ideological education work and subduing wrong ideas, it is necessary to conduct a specific analysis of concrete conditions and, through such analysis, expose the contradictions and solve them. The method of analysis is a dialectical method, one of reasoning. Without making penetrating investigation and study of problems and without truly knowing the problems we are to explain, we shall not be able to analyze them properly, let alone solve them. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "We want to gradually extend dialectics, and we ask everyone to gradually learn to apply this scientific approach--dialectics." We must persist in untiringly studying Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings, and strive to know some more about Marxism and dialectics, so that we can discern and subdue bourgeois and revisionist things of various shades and colors that corrupt people's minds and unite the whole Party and the people of the whole country to win new victories in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

Publish More and Better Reading Material for Private Study by Young People

- Comment on "Book Series for Private Study by Young People"

by

Chai Ch'ing (翟青)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975)

To publish more and better reading material for private study by young people is a piece of important work in strengthening education among young people and in training them into successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause.

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, publishing departments in various areas have exerted considerable efforts in this direction by producing a batch of reading material with rich educational significance for educated youths settling in mountain and rural areas. The "Book Series for Private Study by Young People" published by the Shanghai People's Publishing House is one of the relatively good series. Up to now, 22 volumes have been published touching on such subjects as political economy, Party basic knowledge, history of social development, literature and art, mathematics, physics, chemistry, meteorology, geography, military science, medicine and hygiene. They are warmly welcomed by the broad masses of our youth.

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "The young people are the most active and vital force in society. They are the most eager to learn and the least conservative in their thinking. This is especially so in the era of socialism." As young people are in a period of physical and intellectual growth, in an important period of forming their world outlook, their thirst for knowledge is the greatest. They are sensitive to socialist new things and find themselves more ready to accept revolutionary ideas. However, what kind of thought we are to use in educating the younger generation has always been an important aspect of the struggle waged between two classes to win over young people. A considerable part of the reading material published before the great proletarian cultural revolution was stuffed with feudalist, capitalist and revisionist ideas. Some advocated quite openly the idealist "self-cultivation techniques" of Liu Shao-ch'i, some stressed knowledge and taste, giving first place to knowledge and technology, luring young people to divorce themselves from the worker and peasant masses, to embark upon the capitalist road of personal endeavour in pursuit of fame and name. Such reading material for young people could only serve the bourgeoisie and could in no way serve the proletariat. When we say we must publish more and better reading material for private study by young people, we mean that, by adhering to the Party's basic line and with a view to training successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause, we should guide the broad masses of young people to persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The "Book Series for Private Study by Young People" is doing just that.

To judge whether a young person is revolutionary or not, a basic criterion is to see whether he is willing to align himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and actually does so. Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, millions upon millions of educated youth have, in response to Chairman Mao's great call, actively gone to mountainous and rural areas and plunged themselves into the three great revolutionary movements there. This is practical action in breaking with old traditional concepts and challenging the idea of bourgeois right. But, in order to get the broad masses of young people to really understand the significance of going to the mountainous and rural areas and resolutely take the road of integrating themselves with workers and peasants, there is also the need to help them study Marxist theories well, recognize the laws governing social development, become aware of the historical mission of the proletariat and embrace the ideals of communism. The "Book Series for Private Study by Young People" has made considerable effort in this respect. Reading materials on political theory such as "Basic Knowledge of Political Economy," "A History of the Development of Society" and "Basic knowledge of the Party" have been compiled. These books explain the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat from different angles, help young people increase their confidence and determination in striking root among the workers and peasants, encourage them to dedicate themselves to the struggle to narrow the three great differences, restrict bourgeois right, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and realize the ideals of communism. "Ideals" propounded by certain reading materials before the great proletarian cultural revolution meant only that young people should strive to become "ocean navigators, aviators, scientists, engineers," and not workers and peasants. In this respect, a sharp contrast stands between present and past: Young people are now urged to become ordinary laborers striking root among workers and peasants, whereas previously they were encouraged to be intellectual aristocrats divorced from the worker and peasant masses.

The young people brought up in new China do not experience the painful hardships people endured in the old society, and are not good at comparing the old China with the new China. In view of this, the "Book Series for Private Study by Young People" directs its attention to helping young people theoretically to understand capitalism and socialism. For example, the first part of the book "Basic Knowledge of Political Economy" deals with capitalism, while the second part is about socialism. The part on capitalism centers on explaining--in accordance with the basic viewpoint of Marxist political economy--how capitalism was developed from commodity production, how capitalists exploit workers through taking possession of surplus value, and why the doom of capitalism is inevitable, so that young people will be able to understand capitalism, class oppression and class exploitation. As to the part on socialism, it centers on analyzing problems related to the harmony and conflict in socialist society between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base. It explains the protracted and complicated nature of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines during the period of socialism. This will help young people deepen their understanding of the theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Once young people realize why birthmarks of the old society are still inevitably found in various fields in socialist society, and why the communist cause cannot be

accomplished by one or two generations but by many generations, they will more consciously fight in the rural three great revolutionary movements to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, restrict bourgeois right, narrow the three great differences, and eventually abolish classes and realize communism in the futur

Apart from books on political theory, the "Book Series for Private Study by Young People" also includes "Basic Military Knowledge" and books on natural science. A notable feature of these books is that they are related to the practice of the three revolutionary movements in the rural areas, so that theory is linked with reality. For example, in the book "Knowledge of Human Physiology," when it comes to the process of formation of conditional reflexes of the nerve system, the method of presentation from concept to concept in old university textbooks is changed. It is explained with such real examples as duck raising, pig breeding and deer taming by the educated youth. Thus, abstract concepts are put in concrete terms. The problem of conditional reflexes is propounded in simple and plain language. For another instance, in the book "Knowledge of Meteorology," when it comes to the laws governing the changes in weather, several hundred popular meteorological sayings regarding the characteristics of climatic changes in various localities are included, in addition to nearly a hundred practical and lively examples. Even in such reading matters as physics and mathematics, the tendency to ignore the realities of industrial and agricultural production has been corrected, and attention is paid to actual conditions in the countryside. Turning up the soil is a most common farm job. In the book "Basic Knowledge of Physics," the concept of force and the lever principle are deduced through an analysis of force in plowing. In the chapter "Equilibrium of Forces" alone, such examples of relating theory with practice may be found in a dozen places. Linking up with the practical problems arising out of the production struggle in the countryside conforms to the laws of knowledge, making it easier for educated youth to study and understand them and to apply what they have learned directly to the three great revolutionary movements. Clarifying many scientific theories related to agricultural production may enable the educated youth to further realize that "the countryside is a vast world where much can be done," so that their determination to strike root in the countryside for a lifetime may become firmer still.

A good book intended for young people also should be related to the actual state of the three great revolutionary movements in revealing the various objective laws governing human society and nature and propagating the world outlook of dialectical and historical materialism. It should guide the young readers in their efforts to master the dialectics inherent in objective matter, so that they may incessantly raise their ability to analyze and solve problems. The "Book Series for Private Study by Young People" has also made an encouraging attempt in this direction. Take the book "Knowledge of Human Physiology" for example. When expounding the substance of human physiology, it does its best to analyze the basic laws governing the activity of life in the human body from the viewpoint of the unity of opposites, such as: the metabolism of cells, the contraction and expansion of the heart in the circulatory system, excitement and inhibition of the nervous system, absorption and excretion in the digestive system, etc.

It is precisely these contradicting opposites that constitute the physiological activities of the human body as they struggle against each other, depend on each other, are connected with and restrained by each other. By analyzing problems in such a manner, we may help young people not only to understand the essence of life but also to deepen their understanding of the basic viewpoint of Marxist philosophy that "the law of the unity of opposites is the basic law governing the universe. This law exists generally in nature, human society, and in people's minds." Materialist dialectics and idealist metaphysics have always existed in opposition to each other. Therefore, while taking note of propagating dialectics, the "Book Series for Private Study by Young People" also sees to it that metaphysical and idealist world outlooks are repudiated. For example, the book "Knowledge of Medicine and Hygiene" criticizes such bourgeois idealistic and metaphysical medical viewpoints as the "theory of incurable diseases" and "the theory of regarding external factors as the determining element." "Knowledge of Meteorology" repudiates such concepts as the "unknowable" and "Heavenly will" in meteorological work. Books including "Basic Knowledge of Physics," "Algebra" and "Geometry" also repudiate the idealist and metaphysical world outlook in the proper context. It goes without saying that doing so does not mean turning reading materials for the young people into textbooks on philosophy, or merely using some practical data to prove philosophical theories both ways, but organically combining the propagation of materialist dialectics with the specific content of the subject matter. This will be helpful to young people in distinguishing materialism from idealism, and will enlighten them in such a way as to consciously apply the world outlook of materialist dialectics to practice and hence make greater contributions to the three great revolutionary movements.

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." What is most basic in our efforts to have young people trained into successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause is to raise their consciousness in line struggle so that they will consciously execute Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in all branches of work. The "Book Series for Private Study by Young People" has also made comparatively great efforts in this respect. Take the book "Knowledge of Meteorology" for example. It vividly illustrates many instances of struggle against natural disasters under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In the chapter "Battle with Heaven Brings Endless Delight," there is a section called "Eliminating the Hailstorm" which not only tells of the causes and nature of hailstorms, but also presents with practical data a contrast between two social systems, two lines and two kinds of results. Linqch'iu county in Shansi was known as "the haven of hailstorms." Before the liberation, when a hailstorm struck, "people and animals would be starved. The poor and lower-middle peasants either died or had their homes broken. After the liberation, under the leadership of the Party and relying on the collective effort in staging a mass drive for the prevention of hailstorms, they have basically not seen a disaster caused by hailstorms for 13 years. Their grain output has risen year after year. Here we see two different societies under two different systems. In the book, further attention is given to the question: Is man capable of subduing nature or is he destined to be a prisoner of Heaven? Here a struggle between two lines exists. Prior to the great proletarian cultural revolution, in such areas as Hsin-ch'eng commune of Lint'an county and Palang commune of Min county in Kansu,

due to obstructions caused by the revisionist line, no mass artificial preventive measures were taken against hailstorms and as a result several thousand mow of farmland were laid waste by hail every year. After the great proletarian cultural revolution, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, they followed the example of Tachai and did their utmost to rely on the masses in taking preventive action against hailstorms. As a result, the hail-stricken acreage decreased greatly to enable successive bumper grain harvests to be reaped. The poor and lower-middle peasants say: "The miraculous changes that have come about in Palang are entirely the work of Mao Tsetung Thought." Then, on the basis of experiences gained by the masses from preventive action taken against hailstorms, the author imparts the knowledge relating to prevention and elimination of hailstorms explaining in dramatic fashion the truth that man is totally capable of taming nature. Such books for young readers not only impart knowledge but also give them an education on ideological and political line, propagating the historical materialist truth that "the masses are the real heroes."

Reading materials for young people should be vivid and lively, concrete and figurative to suit the reading habits of young people. A certain effort has been exerted for a number of books in the "Book Series for Private Study by Young People." For example, the book "A Concise Geography of China" begins with a lively introduction to the general profile of the mother country in light of the youth's characteristics. The book gives a very persuasive and intimate description of China's geographical features. Anyone who has finished reading it--be a new herdsman whipping his horse as he dashes across the grassland, a new soldier patrolling the border, a new fisherman off the seashore, or a new peasant toiling in the village--will, from his personal experience, come to love the mother country and want to build it up and defend it. Let's take the book "Knowledge of Meteorology" again. It especially arranges a meeting on the train between two meteorological workers and two young higher school students going to the countryside to live and work among the peasants, during which the vital significance of meteorological work in economic construction and the military field is discussed. Then, on the basis of the activities and connections between them, the book presents its material in a lively and original manner.

There are of course also certain shortcomings in the "Book Series for Private Study by Young People" insofar as we have noticed them since its publication. Some are not sufficiently integrated with realities and stress concepts too much. Others are so complicated in content that key points are not brought to the fore. Still others are structurally rather rigid. Even those regarded as comparatively well written have to be further improved. It is hoped that editors and writes will continue to sum up the experience and do their best to produce something still better. All those books that are found to be relatively good from content to form have not been written in ivory towers, but in the course of deep investigations in the countryside. They have been written in light of the educated youth's practical needs and on the basis of summing up the advanced experience of poor and lower-middle peasants and educated youths. Chairman Mao says: "In order to be a good teacher, one must first be a good student." Therefore, our editors and writers should go

to the front of the three great revolutionary movements, and honestly and modestly learn from the poor and lower-middle peasants and educated youths. Only then can they produce reading material "integrated in content and form" for the young people.

In the early days of the founding of new China, Chairman Mao pointed out: "The new China should think of the young people, and care for their growth." The broad masses of young people in our country are charged with the heavy responsibility of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The condition of their growth has a direct bearing on the destiny and future of our Party and state. We must abide by Chairman Mao's teachings and provide our young people with more spiritual food of the proletariat, and make greater contributions to the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and bring up millions upon millions of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

* * *

Bring the Vanguard Role of Party Organizations into Full Play

by

Pai Shan (柏杉)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975)

Chairman Mao has taught us: "The Party organization should be composed of advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy." This important instruction of Chairman Mao's elucidates profoundly the nature of our Party as a proletarian vanguard and points out the prominent features of Party organizations having a proletarian progressive and militant spirit. In deepening the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must further strengthen Party building so that Party organizations at all levels may better play the militant role as proletarian vanguards.

Ours is a proletarian political Party burdened with the great historical task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, replacing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with the dictatorship of the proletariat, using socialism to defeat capitalism, and ultimately realizing communism. To achieve this goal, our Party is leading the people of the whole country in the great struggle to carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction, to combat and prevent revisionism, and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. This struggle is more arduous, more complicated and more acute than any in the past. Not only must we break the resistance of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes and struggle against newborn bourgeois elements, we must also educate and transform the small producers through protracted and meticulous work. Not only must we bring about a complete change in the old property relations, we must continue to eradicate old traditional ideas. Not only must we carry out a socialist revolution in depth in the sphere of the superstructure and economic base in order to gradually eliminate the "traces of the old society," we must also make vigorous efforts to develop the national economy and bring about all-round modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology in order to build a strong material foundation for the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this process, we must consistently implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, persist steadfastly in criticizing the revisionist line and oppose Right or "Left" wrong tendencies. In all these respects, it is necessary to have strong Party leadership, it is necessary for Party organizations at all levels to bring their militant role as proletarian vanguards into full play.

Party organizations at all levels, through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, have deeply criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, raised the consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, adjusted and strengthened their leading groups, and implemented the principle of three-in-one

combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young, thereby creating still better conditions ideologically and organizationally to bring the Party's vanguard role into full play. By studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Party organizations at all levels have further enhanced their consciousness of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. They have displayed the revolutionary spirit of hard struggle and enhanced the Party's fighting capacity. This is an important guarantee of continuing success in the cause of socialist revolution.

The key to fully developing the vanguard role of Party organizations lies in having a strong and powerful leading group fighting in unity. In other words, the leading group must unswervingly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and dare to struggle against erroneous tendencies running counter to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Only by upholding the correct line can leading groups play the role of fighting bastions and pillars in the complex revolutionary struggle, mobilize and lead the masses, and surmount all difficulties in striving to fulfill the Party's tasks and to make still greater contributions to the Party's cause. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the overwhelming majority of Party organizations have strong and forceful leading groups. They persist in grasping the line, stress unity and the general interest, preserving as well as carrying forward the daring, death-defying spirit displayed in the years of revolutionary war, and combating bourgeois corrosion. Under their leadership, the Party members and revolutionary masses have become militant and daring, and revolution and production are thriving with each passing day. That a few Party organizations are unable to play the vanguard role properly is chiefly because their leading groups are weak and fail to adhere to the correct line. In deepening the study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we should strengthen education in ideological and political line in the light of Party building to enable a few leading groups in a backward state to catch up quickly.

Under the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, our Party organizations at all levels have the tremendous responsibility of providing specific leadership for socialist revolution and construction, implementing the Party's line, principles and policies, and mobilizing the masses to strive to fulfill the Party's tasks. The work of an area or a department, whether successful or otherwise, has a direct bearing on the whole, the national interests. If work is done well and revolution and production improve, they will be helpful to the cause of the whole Party. Otherwise, the cause of the Party will sustain damage and even will be dragged down. Members of the Party organization's leading body must always keep in mind the magnitude of their responsibility, the effect of the success or failure of their work on the overall situation, and the trust of the Party as well as the expectation of the people. Having these things in mind, they will not be afraid of this or that but will have a strong revolutionary sense of responsibility. They will have abundant enthusiasm and a spirit of utter responsibility in work and struggle. They will follow the mass line in doing their work, mobilize the Party members and the revolutionary masses to implement in all possible ways Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and strive to fulfill the Party's tasks.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "What is work? Work is struggle. Where there are difficulties and problems, there we must go to solve them. We work and struggle for the purpose of overcoming difficulties. A good comrade is one who is the more eager to go where the difficulties are greater." As far as members of the leading body of a Party organization are concerned, they in particular must have this revolutionary spirit of going where the difficulties are greater. Difficulties and evil tendencies bully the weak but fear the strong. The more timid we are and the more we are afraid to struggle, the greater will be the difficulties and the more rampant the evil trends. As experience gained in many places shows, to solve "long-standing, big and difficult" problems it is necessary to begin with solving the problems of the leading group. So long as the leading group follows a correct line, works in great spirit, boldly mobilizes and relies on the masses, dares to struggle against the class enemy's trouble-making and various evil tendencies, and conscientiously and responsibly tries to do a good job in work, difficulties and contradictions will not be difficult to solve and revolution and production will make quick progress.

Organizationally speaking, our Party is powerful because it practices democratic centralism and has strict organizational discipline. All Party members, particularly Party cadres, must consciously practice the Party's democratic centralism, maintain the Party's discipline, uphold the proletarian Party spirit, and oppose bourgeois factionalism and the erroneous tendencies of doing something harmful within the Party and acting independently of the Party--in order to strengthen the Party's revolutionary unity and increase its fighting capability.

Lenin said: "Only the Party guided by advanced theories can play the role of advanced fighters." To bring the vanguard role of Party organizations into full play, the most important thing to do is to strengthen the ideological building of the Party and constantly educate and arm the Party members with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We must firmly bear in mind that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road and between the two lines within the Party is protracted and complex and will repeatedly find expression in all spheres. Without the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, one would not be able to distinguish between right and wrong on matters concerning the line and to find out the correct orientation. The movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat led personally by Chairman Mao is a profound Marxist education for the whole Party, one of fundamental ideological building. By having a clear understanding of the dictatorship over the bourgeoisie both in theory and practice, Party organizations will be able to implement Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line still more consciously and to lead Party members and the masses in the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Party organizations at all levels must sum up the experience gained in study at the preceding stage, take measures to deepen and sustain the study of theory, and lead the masses to vigorously advance ideologically and politically. The intrusion of bourgeois ideology and style into Party life is an important factor in undermining the Party's unity and weakening its fighting capability. Studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat well will help us consciously remold our world outlooks, resist the erosion of bourgeois ideology and style and carry forward the Party's fine traditions.

We must seriously promote the Party's three major styles which Chairman Mao has consistently advocated, that is, "the style of integrating theory with practice, the style of maintaining close ties with the masses, and the style of practicing criticism and self-criticism." This is of vital importance to Party organizations at all levels in implementing the Party's line, resisting erosion by the bourgeoisie, and forever maintaining fighting youthfulness. By raising their consciousness of the line and improving their workstyle through studying theory, Party organizations at all levels, will certainly increase their fighting capability further and still better play the vanguard role in leading the masses forward.

* * *

Strengthen Party Building Ideologically and Organizationally

by

Hsiang Hui (向 暉)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975)

For the past 20 years and more since the founding of New China, our Party, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, has in the practice of the three major revolutionary movements continued to strengthen itself both ideologically and organizationally. Especially since the great proletarian cultural revolution, which crushed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and tempered the vast numbers of Party members in the violent class and line struggles, Party organizations at all levels have become stronger and more vigorous.

The proletarian political party is a tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this historical period of socialism, strengthening Party building is always closely linked with the thorough implementation of the Party's line and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory has once again confronted the comrades of the whole Party with the fundamental task of combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. It has penetratingly analyzed the class root causes and social basis for the emergence of revisionism within the Party and pointed to a clear direction for strengthening Party building under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Linking real-life class struggle with the two-line struggle within the Party, seriously studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, and studying Marxist theories on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian political party--this will help to further strengthen Party building ideologically, politically and organizationally, enabling the Party to better carry out the historical task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our country is in an important phase of historical development. In order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results, we must resolutely suppress the restoration activities of the overthrown exploiting classes and struggle against newly engendered bourgeois elements. We must continue to consolidate and develop the socialist economic base, restrict bourgeois right and gradually narrow the three major differences in respect to the relations of production, besides gradually creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. In the ideological sphere, we must strengthen the dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, criticize revisionism, the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and the idea of bourgeois right, and wash away the dirt left over from the old society. We must vigorously develop the socialist economy and culture and quicken the pace of construction of the mother country. This is a great social revolution more complicated, more extensive and more intensive than any revolution of the past, and it

cannot succeed without strong Party leadership. Historical experience has proved and will continue to prove: "The Chinese Communist Party is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. Without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious."

The fact that our Party is entrusted with such a stupendous historical task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat means that new and higher demands are made on strengthening Party building ideologically and organizationally. Owing to the existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle and the existence of bourgeois right in the period of socialism, a section of Party members may turn into new bourgeois elements. "Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state organs there are people who follow the bourgeois style of life." In view of this, we must continue to strengthen Party building ideologically and organizationally, give the whole Party Marxist education on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and strive to maintain the ideological and organizational purity of the Party in the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism. Through education, we must make the broad masses of Party members and Party organizations really understand that, to insure that the Party will not turn revisionist and the state will not change its color, the most important and urgent task is to thoroughly implement Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line in various spheres and constantly exercise proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. For Party organizations at various levels to play the role as combat bastions and for the broad masses of Party members to be capable of leading the masses in struggle against the class enemies and resolutely resist erosion by bourgeois ideas and the concept of bourgeois right, they must arm themselves with the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, seriously transform the world outlook, and build a wall of iron for combating and preventing revisionism in the ideological field.

To strengthen Party building, the primary problem lies in the proper building of Party committees at various levels. They are the headquarters of their respective regions and departments for the battle to implement the Party's line and policies and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, they must use the theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat to strengthen their own ideological and organizational building so as to make themselves into a united and strong leadership core. Unless they can do this, they have no hope of leading the hundreds of millions of people to fight and to build. In the article "On Strengthening the Party Committee System" Chairman Mao points out: "The Party committee system is an important Party institution for insuring collective leadership and preventing any individual from monopolizing the conduct of affairs." A Party committee established according to the organizational principle of Party democratic centralism does not represent the interests of a certain individual or a few people, but the wishes of the whole class and of the broad masses. It relies on its own collective strength to lead the revolutionary cause in its own area or department. Therefore, all members of the Party committee should consciously uphold the collective leadership of the Party committee in accordance with the principle put forward by Chairman Mao, "Practice Marxism and not revisionism; unite and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." Proceeding from the interests of the Party and from the overall situation, they should promote revolutionary unity

within the Party committee and successful integration of the old, the middle-aged and the young. All major problems must be subject to collective discussion and collective decision. Within the Party committee itself, an active ideological struggle should be unfolded, when different opinions should be placed on the table for full discussion in order to arrive at a unity of views. We must act on Party principles, uphold the proletarian Party spirit, oppose bourgeois factionalism, and must not take what suits our taste as a small group as the yardstick for judging right and wrong and for taking actions. Once the Party committee reaches a resolution, it must be thoroughly implemented by all; one is not allowed to go his own way because he does not consent to it. Still less is one allowed to endorse it at the meeting but oppose it afterward. As regards difficulties and problems in work, the members of the Party committee must care for and support each other and rely on collective strength to solve them. Regarding ideological differences and barriers, they must confide in each other and make more self-criticism. Practice shows that wherever this is done the Party committee will unite firmly on the basis of the principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It will achieve unity in understanding policy, plan, command and action. It will fully play its leading role in the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in this way the excellent situation of stability and unity in its own area or unit will develop unceasingly. In contrast, if the collective leadership within the Party committee is not sound, lacking in unity of thought and action, it will act sluggishly and command weakly. The Party's centralized leadership becomes so much an empty phrase that the task of carrying out the dictatorship of the proletariat right to grassroots units cannot be accomplished.

Practicing democratic centralism and strengthening the sense of discipline has always been a teaching of Chairman Mao's for many years, and necessary for strengthening the ideological and organizational building of the Party and for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. To exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, we must rely on the Party's correct line, and Party discipline is a guarantee for the execution of a correct line. According to Chairman Mao's Party-building line and the Party Constitution, all Party members, especially leading Party cadres, must strictly observe and enforce Party discipline in order to maintain the Party's solidarity and unity. For the whole Party to obey the Central Committee is the supreme principle of Party discipline. What we mean by solidarity and unity is that we must place ourselves under the unified leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and subordinate all our actions to the command of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. Concerning the decisions and instructions of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, we must adopt the attitude of resolutely implementing them. The line and policies formulated by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee must be carried out through the Party committees at various levels in light of the concrete conditions in their local regions and departments. Obeying the leadership of local Party committees and carrying out the various decisions taken by them to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies is consistent with obeying the leadership of the Party Central Committee. It is when they consciously carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line

and policies ideologically and politically, achieve the organizational goal that "individuals must obey the organization, the minority must obey the majority, the lower level must obey the higher level and the whole Party must obey the Central Committee," and enforce Party discipline in an exemplary manner that Party members and Party organizations alike can be said to adhere to the proletarian Party spirit. Bourgeois factionalism and proletarian Party spirit are diametrically opposed to each other. All Party members, especially leading Party cadres, must take the lead in uniting with over 95 percent of the cadres and the masses in jointly opposing and eliminating bourgeois factionalism. Only he who does this can be a Communist in name and in fact.

To strengthen Party discipline is for the purpose of better enforcing Party democratic centralism. By democracy, we mean democracy under centralized guidance; by centralization, we mean centralization based on democracy. In both cases, the aim is to further strengthen the Party's solidarity and unity and to increase, not weaken, the Party's fighting power. Correct implementation of democratic centralism can enable the broad masses of Party members to fully arouse their own activism and creativeness, be courageous and skillful in posing problems, airing their views, criticizing their shortcomings, and exercising revolutionary supervision over leading organs and leading cadres. On the basis of fully developing democracy, the Party's leading organs may also concentrate the wisdom of Party members and the masses of people and exercise correct leadership. Thus there will be created a political situation in which there are both centralization and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "To make our whole Party march in step for a common goal, we must oppose individualism and sectarianism." Those seriously affected by bourgeois individualism have in mind only the interests of individuals and small groups, and forget that they are Communists. Both individualism and sectarianism are agents eroding Party unity and discipline. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to let these things weaken Party discipline is in fact to help the bourgeoisie to oppose the proletariat. Party organizations at various levels must use the Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention to educate the cadres, the masses, the Party members and the people, and enhance the consciousness of Party members in enforcing Party discipline.

At present, the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is deepening. To strengthen Party building ideologically, the most important thing is to get clear the question of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie on the basis of integrating theory with practice. This calls for going deep into realities and doing a good job in investigation and study on the basis of serious reading and studying. While leading the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao has always taken investigation and study as an important aspect in strengthening one's Party spirit and fostering the fine style of the Party. Chairman Mao has repeatedly taught us: "He who makes no investigation has no right to speak." "The introduction of the plan for investigation and study in the whole Party is a basic link in changing the style of the Party." To exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, we must clarify many things on various fronts through investigation and study. Unless we conduct

investigations and study, we will have no idea as to what we should support, what we should oppose and what we should restrict. We will not be able to understand and implement properly the line and policies formulated by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee nor stand in the van of the revolutionary movement to lead the masses forward. When, through systematic and close investigations and study, we clarify the question of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in practice and find out the relevant laws, we shall deepen our understanding of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat , heighten our consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and draw up a clear line of distinction in ideology and policy on problems encountered in actual work. Thus, not only shall we carry out in a practical way the Party's policies at the current stage, but we shall also ardently support and foster socialist new things, thereby bringing about a continuous growth of communist factors.

In investigation and study, the principal leading comrades of Party committees at various levels must take the lead. The basic task of the Party's leading organs at various levels is to understand the conditions and grasp the policies. To understand the conditions is the basis for grasping policies. Only when leading comrades of Party committees get involved in investigation and study and know the conditions clearly can they have the determination and correct methods to firmly grasp the initiative in various fields of endeavors. Some leading comrades, having an inadequate understanding of the vital significance of personal involvement in investigation and study, stress that "we're too busy in our work to go down to see things." They do not understand that one of the main reasons why they have to work in a chaotic and passive situation is that they spend too little time on personal investigations and study. Because they do not know much about actual conditions, they fail to get hold of the crux of any problem, let alone solve it systematically. They can only do a little at a time. As a result, as they do not go down to see things for themselves, they work busily but passively, and the more chaotic and passive their work becomes, the more difficult it will be for them to go down--which thus forms a vicious cycle. With the passage of time, they will estrange themselves from the masses and realities and will even slide down the revisionist evil road. More than 30 years ago, Chairman Mao had sharply criticized those leading cadres who did not conduct investigations and study. He said: "Now many of our comrades still maintain the style of doing things rashly and without understanding them. They even know nothing at all about conditions below, yet they are in charge of directing work there. This is most dangerous. Anyone who does not have a really concrete understanding of the actual conditions of various classes in Chinese society cannot be a good leader." Responsible comrades of Party committees at various levels should deeply appreciate Chairman Mao's teachings, carry forward the Party's fine style of going deep into the world of reality to make investigations and study, grasp first-hand information, learn how to analyze and explain problems on the basis of linking theory with practice, and better fulfill the tasks given them by the Party.

Our great, glorious and correct Party has triumphantly traversed a militant course for over half a century, and is continuing to march forward in big strides. With Chairman Mao's important instruction on the

question of theory as the compass, let's further strengthen Party building, and unite to win still greater victories for the common goal of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

Grasp Ideological Education Among Party Members in the Rural Areas

by

Party Branch of Liuhsi Production Brigade, Lihsin Hsien, Anhwei

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975)

Chairman Mao points out: "Lenin said, 'Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' This also occurs among a section of the workers and a section of the Party members." This instruction of Chairman Mao's has a particularly profound educational significance for Party branches in the countryside under the constant influence of small production and for us Party members who have been peasants or born of peasant families. During the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, our Party branch has conducted serious study and repeated discussions around the question of small production. We have thus come to realize in theory and from our practical experience that an important task of a rural Party branch in strengthening the ideological building of the Party is to continuously overcome the influence of the idea of small production on Party members.

Looking back at the revolutionary practice of our Liuhsi brigade over the past 20 years and more, we see that it has waged a series of struggles against small producers' ideas both inside and outside the Party in order to firmly follow the socialist road. It also has achieved some good results in this regard. However, we did not profoundly understand the essence and harm of small producers' ideas until Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory was published. As a result, we often failed to act firmly.

Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory has raised our understanding of small producers' ideas to a new level. In the light of the need to combat and prevent revisionism and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, this instruction incisively and penetratingly makes it clear that small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie spontaneously and may also corrupt our Party. This sounds the alarm for the whole Party, especially for the Party organizations and Party members in the countryside. Take our production brigade for instance. Although the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed and the system of the people's commune has been realized in our production brigade, it still practices the economic system of collective ownership and retains some remnants of the system of private ownership. Although the production brigade has quite a number of farm machines, it has yet to realize farm mechanization. Although the state asks people's communes to plant crops in a planned way, planting crops is still under the influence of the law of value due to the existence of commodity exchange. Such actual conditions, plus the influence of small producers' ideas which have prevailed in the countryside for thousands of years, determine that the inherent

characteristics of small producers find expression in the minds of some collective peasants and even of Party members in the rural areas. Our Party branch has 108 Party members, all of whom have been peasants or born of peasant families. Some have joined the Party organizationally but have not yet wholly joined it ideologically. They still harbor some ideas of small production. Such ideas find even more prominent expression in some Party members. If we do not proceed from the need to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and if we do not educate Party members on the proletarian world outlook and firmly struggle against small producers' ideas and deeds with the concept of private ownership as their core, the fighting strength of Party organizations will be weakened and new bourgeois elements will emerged from among the Party members. This is decidedly not a small matter, but a big one concerning whether Party members will degenerate and whether the Party will turn revisionist. It is so important, in fact, that the Party branch must pay full attention to it.

Judging from the conditions of the Party branch of Liuhsi brigade, we feel that it is necessary to grasp ideological education with special effort in the following four aspects.

It is necessary to use the concept of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to educate Party members and help them overcome small producers' shortsightedness and the idea of carrying out revolution half-way. Small producers' ideas are related to the production mode of small-peasant economy. In the old society, the small producers' economic status determined that they could not pursue revolution as firmly and thoroughly as the proletariat. For this reason, Party members with small producers' ideas, proceeding from their own interests, often favor revolution in a certain revolutionary stage and positively participate in it. However, when the revolution continues to advance and enters another stage, they are liable to waver and harbor the idea of applying the brakes and shifting gears. Some Party members were activists during the agrarian reform and cooperation movements, but following the deepening of the socialist revolution and as life has become more affluent, they think they have "arrived at the goal" and it is time for them to enjoy life and relax a bit. They begin to lose the idea of dedicating themselves to the communist cause as a Communist should.

The narrow vision of small producers and their half-way revolutionary ideas are diametrically opposed to the noble revolutionary ideas of Communists. From the day he joins the Party, a Communist should make up his mind to devote his life to the complete emancipation of the proletariat and the whole of mankind and to the magnificent cause of communism. He should always advance in high spirits in the direction indicated by the Party whether in the period of the democratic revolution or in the period of socialist revolution, no matter what difficulties and perils he may encounter in the course of advance and no matter how big the setbacks revolution suffers. He who "stops" is not a genuine Communist.
To help Party members foster the idea of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and overcome the idea of coming to a stop, we organized them to study the works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, and conducted education on revolutionary ideals and the future in order to enable them to foster the world outlook of the proletariat. We also educated them by citing the advanced deeds of good Party members who had set an

example in making continuous revolution. Our purpose is to make them understand that, as communist vanguard fighters, they should devote their lives to the emancipation of all mankind, bear in mind the noble aim of the revolution, make revolution on firm ground, and always "maintain the same vigor, the same revolutionary enthusiasm and the same daring death-defying spirit displayed in the revolutionary war years, and carry on our revolutionary work to the end."

It is necessary to use the communist concept of devotion to public interest and selflessness to educate Party members and help them overcome small producers' selfish ideas and spontaneous capitalist tendencies which they themselves have reflected. For instance, some Party members are very concerned about their personal interests but show little interest in the collective interests. Yet they do not admit that they have been influenced by bourgeois ideas and capitalist tendencies. To enable Party members to break with the concept of private ownership, the Party branch has conducted education on the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two ideologies to help them understand the great truth that "only socialism can save China," to foster the proletarian concept of complete devotion to the public interest and the idea of working vigorously for the interests of the Party and the people, and to overcome capitalist tendencies. The Party branch has also frequently organized the Party members to recall the old society and contrast it with the new society. This has enabled them to realize that the happy life they are leading today is fundamentally owed to the overthrow of the exploitation system and the transformation of private ownership of the means of production under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party. If a Party member forgets the Party's basic line and is overwhelmed by self-interest and if he seeks to enrich himself, he will probably become a new bourgeois element. Having understood this truth, many Party members expressed their determination to rid themselves of the small producers' concept of private ownership, to gradually remove the social base for revisionism, and to farm and work for the interests of the public, the collective and the revolution.

While conducting ideological education, the Party branch has also led the masses to vigorously develop and expand the socialist collective economy and to gradually create material conditions for completely eliminating the small producers' concept of private ownership. We have adhered to the principle of putting proletarian politics in command and striven to do political-ideological and economic work together, thereby promoting the transformation from matter to consciousness and vice versa. Over the past several years, the Party branch has resolutely implemented the principle of "taking grain as the key link and insuring all-round development," leading the Party members and the masses to display the spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle in the fight against nature and the class enemies. As a result, a great change has taken place in Liuhsi's features. Its poor land which used to yield about 100 catties of grain per mow has been turned into good fields yielding over 1,000 catties of grain per mow. Its small plots of land have been made into large tracts of square fields. High tension power lines have been installed, and irrigation and drainage stations built. Many irrigation and drainage ditches and canals have been dug, and trees have been planted on field paths

and along ditches and canals. The brigade now has 150 large farm machines including tractors, trucks and diesel engines. It also has over 670 big animals. Every production team has grain reserves, and every household has surplus grain. Many commune members have moved into brick houses built by the collective. The development of the socialist collective economy has greatly changed the way of thinking of the Party members and the masses. As their vision has been enlarged, they have become more broadminded. From their present-day life they not only have perceived the superiority of socialism but also have been able to see the more beautiful prospects of communism. Very few people now think of leaving the production brigade to engage in sideline production on their own.

It is necessary to educate Party members in the concept that communists should serve the people "wholly" and "completely" and to teach them not to get special privileges by capitalizing on their Party membership and their positions which the people have given them. Lenin pointed out: "Some people, like small private owners, deal with the victory of the capitalists by saying, 'They have grabbed, now it is my turn'." This notion of small producers can be found in some of our Party members who demand special care on grounds that they do more work and carry a heavy burden. This reflects the idea of bourgeois privileges. Under the influence of this idea, a few comrades fail to deal with others with an attitude of equality, take part less frequently in collective productive labor, and gain something for themselves by taking advantage of their work. If this way of thinking is not overcome, our Party members and cadres will divorce themselves from the masses, and the correct relationship between men under the socialist system will be altered.

How to solve this problem? The Party branch conducted education in revolutionary traditions among the Party members by running study classes to review the history of the Party as a means of teaching Party members to carry forward the Party's fine style of arduous struggle, serve the people diligently, and work for the Party sincerely. They came to realize that during the war years, despite difficult circumstances and hardships, our Party members, cadres and fighters followed Chairman Mao and the Party, fought heroically and sacrificed their lives in the fierce struggle. In those days the higher and lower levels, officers and men, and the army and the people were united as one. Which revolutionary demanded special privileges? It was this revolutionary spirit and style of work that brought victory for the democratic revolution. Today, as the socialist revolution is deepening, if we abandon this tradition we will be hit by the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie, and the cause of the Party will be harmed. We also strictly required leading members of the Party branch to set an example to influence other Party members by taking the lead in doing collective productive labor and in not taking special privileges. At the same time we frequently carried out small rectification campaigns by inviting the masses to comment on Party members. In this way the Party members have always preserved the political color of the proletariat under the supervision of the masses.

It is necessary to educate Party members in the proletarian concept of struggle in unity and to prevent small producers from practicing

sectarianism by exploiting the clan mentality. This mentality which the landlord class has spread for thousands of years in order to preserve its reactionary rule has struck deep roots in people's minds. Following the deepening of the socialist revolution after liberation, the peasants have been further emancipated economically and politically, and their clan mentality has been gradually eliminated. But, 'invariably remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system remain in people's minds for a long time, and they do not easily give way." In one of our production teams there were two "cliques" which constantly quarelled with each other without cause. This undermined disunity and affected production. Instead of handling the problem from the stand of the Party, a few Party members in the team helped the leaders of either one of the two "cliques" to consolidate their positions. This kind of clan mentality and factional feelings are very harmful to strengthening the unity within the Party and revolutionary unity among the masses of people.

In the course of deeply criticizing revisionism, the Party branch conducted education among the Party members on strengthening revolutionary unity on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It organized them to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's instruction: "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire," to study the Party's basic line, and to carry out revolutionary mass criticism. The Party branch helped the Party members to use the class viewpoint to determine who their close friends and relatives were and to recognize that such phrases as "those who are of the same surname are of the same family" are lies and are actually the "theory of human nature" peddled by the landlord and capitalist classes with the aim of weakening our revolutionary will, splitting the revolutionary ranks, and undermining the Party's unity. We must not be deceived by this. We also mobilized the masses to criticize the class enemies who fanned up the clan mentality and sectarian feelings, thereby strengthening revolutionary unity inside and outside the Party.

The ideas and habits of small producers are diametrically opposed to the ideological system of the proletariat and must be transformed and overcome. However, our experience tells us that we must not adopt a simple and rude attitude in teaching Party members to overcome the influence of the ideas of small producers. We must adopt the method of education and persuasion. We must use mainly positive education, enhance their understanding of theory, and educate and influence them with facts. We must start from the desire for unity and strive to achieve a new unity through criticism and self-criticism. Although we have done some work in this respect, it is far from being enough. Under the guidance of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we are determined to study seriously, to build up the Party branch ideologically, to give full play to its role as a fighting bulwark, and to lead the Party members and the broad masses to march valiantly along the broad road of socialism.

* * *

Be a Communist in Fact as Well as Name

by

Li Tseng-hsi (李增錫)
fighter of a certain unit of PLA Tsinan Units

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975)

While the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is proceeding apace, we greet the 54th anniversary of the birth of the Chinese Communist Party. As a young fighter who is presently applying for Party membership, I feel extremely excited and have made up my mind to make a deeper study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and to be a Communist in fact as well as in name.

Son of a poor peasant, I have grown up under the sunshine of the Party. In 1971, I became a fighter of the People's Liberation Army; not long afterward I joined the Communist Youth League. Over the past several years, under the training and education given by the Party organization in my unit and subduing the difficulties caused by my low cultural level, I have been assiduously studying Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings as well as the techniques of killing the enemy. I have raised my political consciousness and improved my military skills to a certain extent, and five times in succession I have been commended by the Party branch. Studying the history of the Party and the Party itself has made me realize that the Chinese Communist Party is a party personally founded and led by Chairman Mao--a great, glorious and correct party, the vanguard of the proletariat fighting for the emancipation of the people, the building of socialism and the ultimate realization of communism. Yearning to become a Communist at an early date, I submitted my Party membership application the second year after I enlisted, and in it I expressed my anxiety to join the Party organization.

In April this year, the company Party branch, following discussion by Party members and comments by the rank and file, was prepared to accept my application and save me a membership form to fill. Receiving this form and thinking that a wish of many years might at last be fulfilled made me feel really excited. However, a Communist must judge himself by the five requirements he must meet, and I felt ashamed of myself for not having all the qualifications to join the Party. Holding the membership form in my hand and thinking about this, I hesitated. Should I fill it? I struggled violently with myself. I did not fill out the membership form; instead, I submitted to the Party branch a report on my thinking and an application for joining the Party later. I said in my report: "Filling out a form is easy. But this Party membership form is not an ordinary form. It is a very important one, conveying as it does the expectations of the Party and my class. As my ideological consciousness has not yet advanced to that of an advanced element of the proletariat, I ask the Party branch to defer considering my admission into the Party and, in the meantime, to continue to observe, test and educate me." The Party branch carefully studied my request and granted it. It encouraged me to make a hard effort to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to continue

to raise my political consciousness, and to strive to attain the position where I can really join the Party in an ideological sense.

Why did I do this?

In the course of studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, I repeatedly pondered over, theoretically, the relationship between strengthening Party building and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. I thought: The ultimate goal of proletarian dictatorship is to abolish all classes, liberate the whole of mankind and realize communism. To fulfill this long-term and formidable historical task of proletarian dictatorship, it is necessary to have a proletarian political party exercising strong leadership and countless proletarian advanced elements dedicating their lives to the Party, to their class, to the revolution. This places very high demands on Communists, requiring them to solidly establish the long-range ideal of fighting for communism for the rest of their lives, that is, to really join the Party in the ideological sense. On this question, what did I think? Was it correct? This made me recall one incident. Last year, when I returned home to visit my parents, my relatives and friends came to see me and concernedly asked me why I had not joined the Party. I flushed at that moment and thought: It was really too bad that having been a soldier for four years I still had not joined the Party. Failing to join the Party meant that I had a smaller chance of being promoted to be a cadre and that when I was demobilized in the future I could only go back home to till the land. Ideas such as this showed that my motives for joining the Party were not pure enough, being mixed with individualist things. Considering my state of mind, I then repeatedly studied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the new Party Constitution adopted by the 10th Party Congress. The more I studied them, the more I felt that whether one joined the Party for the purpose of pursuing his own fame, gain and position or for the purpose of dedicating his life to the great communist cause was a question that must be seriously dealt with.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The Communist Party is a political party working for the welfare of the nation and the people, and it seeks no private gains for itself." Running the Party for the public interest or for private interest--this is a basic distinction between a proletarian party and a bourgeois party. Joining the Party for the public interest or for private interest--this is a touchstone testing whether one is a genuine or false Communist. A Communist is glorious because he takes the interest of the revolution as his first life and consciously strives arduously for the communist cause. If a person joins the Party for the purpose of running after his personal interest like people Lenin criticized, "people who want only to 'grab' the benefits accruing to the membership of a government party but who are unwilling to work selflessly for communism," he does not deserve the glorious title of Communist. Without solving the question of joining the Party ideologically, even if one joins the Party organizationally, one would not wholeheartedly fight for the realization of the Party program nor play the role as an advanced proletarian element. For such people to join the Party would only weaken, not strengthen it.

To solve properly the question of joining the Party ideologically is in principle a question of upholding the Party membership standard and is necessary for purifying the Party organization and increasing its fighting capabilities. On this question, the Party organization must do well and ask comrades joining the Party to be strict in dissecting themselves, to be honest and frank without concealing anything wrong. Such alone is the attitude of being responsible to the Party and the revolutionary cause.

In the past, I also had a blurred notion that if only I worked positively and well, I would be fully qualified to join the Party. After studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, I have realized that whether one is qualified to join the Party must be judged not only by the amount of work one does, but also by the foundation of one's thought. All comrades who have the great communist goal at heart, propelled by the huge revolutionary motive force, will surely be vigorous and smashing, developing to a high degree their revolutionary activism and creativity, brilliantly fulfilling the tasks given them by the Party, and carrying the revolutionary work through to the end. Those who ask to join the Party for selfish reasons may for a time appear energetic and do well, but since their motives for joining the Party are impure, their enthusiasm would not last long. Such people actually regard work as an "equivalent" to exchange for the title of a Communist, dealing with the serious question of joining the Party with the capitalist principle of "commodity exchange." Therefore, in judging whether a person is qualified to join the Party, we must not only look at his behavior at a given moment or in a given event, but must examine his world outlook in accordance with the five requirements a Communist must meet. Take the case of our company for example. Most of the Party-member comrades "were backbone elements before they joined the Party, and have been models after joining it," taking the lead in doing everything and, indeed, playing the role as proletarian advanced elements. However, there are also some comrades who "worked actively before they joined the Party but have relaxed their effort after joining it," giving way to the wrong notion of "the ship arriving at the pier and the train at the station." Why does this phenomenon appear? I think it is necessary to find out the cause from the world outlook and to pause and think seriously: Do I join the Party entirely for the purpose of working for the well-being of the overwhelming majority of the people in China and the world? Have I really joined the Party ideologically?

As early as the Yenan rectification campaign in 1942, Chairman Mao had stated pointedly: "There are many Party members who, joining the Party organizationally, have not entirely joined it or even have not joined it at all ideologically. Such people who have not joined the Party ideologically still have a lot of filthy things of the exploiting classes in their heads; they know nothing at all about proletarian ideas, communism, and the Party." Since socialist society has just emerged from the womb of the old society, it is thus stamped with its birthmarks in various respects--economically, morally and intellectually. There still exists bourgeois right and the exploiting-class ideologies still retain very deep influence. That is why some people look upon joining the Party as a means of seeking personal gains. In this historical phase of socialism, the building of the Party is from the first bound up with the question of exercising all-round

dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. If we are to preserve the advanced character of the proletarian political party and build the Party into a stronger and more vigorous vanguard organization, we must continue to criticize revisionism, persist in the struggle by the proletariat against non-proletarian ideas, and resist bourgeois corruption.

Born of a poor peasant family, I have nothing but passionate love for great leader Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party. I always think: After I join the Party I must do well to repay the Party and Chairman Mao. However, such simple class feelings are no substitute for the communist consciousness that a Communist should possess. My head is still stamped with the small producer's concept of private ownership. To free my world outlook from the shackles of small production, to transcend the narrow vision of bourgeois right, and to really solve the problem of joining the Party ideologically, there is no other way but to persevere in reading and studying continuously, arm my head with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, and seriously transform my world outlook in the course of actual struggle. I must make a successful study and application of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. I must place exacting demands on myself in accordance with the five requirements Communists must meet. I must fill out the Party membership form with practical action, and be an advanced element of the proletariat in name and in fact, one who dedicates his life to the great Party, to the magnificent communist cause.

* * *

Correctly Understand Our Country's Commodity System

by

Cheng K'ai (郑凯)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975)

Chairman Mao points out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." This important instruction of Chairman Mao's provides us with an effective ideological weapon for correctly knowing the commodity system in socialist society, restricting bourgeois right, resisting erosion by bourgeois ideology, and carrying out a successful struggle to combat and prevent revisionism.

Since the commodity system in socialist society is built on the foundation of public ownership, will it still engender capitalism? Studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and the historical experience of proletarian dictatorship has enabled us to see clearly: in socialist society the commodity system is still a ground engendering capitalism and bourgeois elements.

The capitalist system did not drop from the skies; it was born of the commodity economy long ago. Lenin said: "Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale." Small commodity producers work with their own means of production and take their products to the market for exchange with other products. But after they get involved in the market, they no longer can master their own destiny. This is because on the market, as a result of competition, commodities can only be exchanged according to their value, that is, according to the socially necessary labor time, regardless of how much time you take in producing these products. Thus, people who have superior production conditions and who expend their labor conforming to or below the socially necessary labor time will be able to recover from the consumption of labor, possibly with some profit. Those who have inferior production conditions and expend more labor hours than the socially necessary labor time will not be able to recover from the consumption of their labor and may sustain losses. At the same time, what and how much the small producers produce are dictated blindly by the rise and fall of market prices. Constant changes in the relationship of supply and demand among various kinds of commodities on the market and fluctuating prices make their positions still more precarious. In the course of competition, a few people get rich and turn into capitalists by means of lending out money and hiring labor; whereas most people become poor and go bankrupt and turn into wage laborers having nothing but their labor power. It was on the basis of such polarization among small commodity producers that capitalism was born. The Chinese countryside, following the land reform, had been a vast ocean of small peasant production, and such a phenomenon of polarization had also appeared. The development of small

production into capitalism--a fairly familiar development--was prevented only after Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee promptly criticized the fallacies for the capitalist road, such as "safeguarding private ownership" and "four big freedoms" spread by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and people like them, and "striking the iron while it is hot," guided the broad masses of peasants to take the royal road of agricultural cooperativization.

In our country, following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production, the capitalist economy was turned into a socialist state-run economy, and the individual economy was turned into a socialist collective economy. This was a flying leap from private to public ownership, a great historical change. However, so long as the two kinds of ownership--whole-people ownership and collective ownership--exist in socialist society and so long as the economy under the whole-people ownership still cannot produce an abundance of products to enable society to practice distribution according to needs, there is no choice but to practice the commodity system. This commodity system is still ground for engendering capitalism and the bourgeoisie.

By far a greater part of the products of the economy under collective ownership are brought into the sphere of commodity circulation through the channels of state-run commerce and supply and marketing cooperatives. Here, commodity production and commodity exchange are no longer in a state of free competition and free development as under the conditions of private ownership; generally speaking, they are carried out according to state plans, with prices fixed centrally by the state and with the important commodities subject to planned purchase. Provided that the socialist orientation is adhered to and capitalist tendencies are unceasingly criticized, commodity production under the collective economy can serve the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance and the development of the socialist economy. However, we must also see that in our countryside at present the system of collective ownership characterized by ownership at three levels with the production team as the foundation is in force. Owing to the operation of the law of value and the differences between the individual labor time and the socially necessary labor time in the commodity economy, disparities between prices and value still exist. Since the various communes and teams differ in production and market conditions and in the varieties of crops sown, even though they expend the same amount of labor, they still differ in their earnings through exchanges. For this reason, the equal right in exchange of equivalents between the various communes and teams is--in principle--still bourgeois right, that is, still unequal in reality. Such inequalities have been somewhat restricted by the state through planning and control and taxation. However, given the objective existence of these differences, unless we put proletarian politics in command, some small collectives would be prone to concern themselves only with the "ratio of exchange for their products" and come into conflict with state planning. At the same time, the old ideas, mentalities and habits of small producers also cannot be eradicated overnight with the establishment of the system of public ownership. The vast masses of poor and lower-middle are determined to take

the socialist road toward common affluence. Under the Party's leadership, they are continuing to raise their socialist consciousness in the course of class struggle. Yet the capitalist spontaneous tendencies may constantly corrupt certain people among the poor and lower-middle peasants, and a part of well-to-do peasants, with a strong desire to get rich, will invariably use the commodity system and exchange through money to carry out profiteering activities. Unless we give attention to stepping up socialist education among the peasants and restrict bourgeois right, the force of habit of small producers and capitalist spontaneous tendencies will influence and intrude into the socialist collective economy, causing some communes and teams to leave the socialist track. In the rural areas at present a small number of communes and teams are found to ignore the state plans and resort to the so-called free planting; refrain from selling to the state agricultural and subsidiary products in accordance with state regulations and promote the so-called free trade; stress sideline occupations and slight agriculture, and resort to private sideline production, etc. All these are bound up with the commodity system and exchange through money. Failure to struggle against such capitalist tendencies will increase the actual inequalities in the exchange of commodities and widen the differences among the communes and teams and among commune members. And a few rich peasants who reap fabulous profits by hanging out the signboard "collective" will turn into new bourgeois elements.

Small amounts of private plots and family sideline occupations are still retained in the countryside at present for the purpose of supplementing the socialist collective economy, and trade fairs still exist. Private plots and family sideline occupations are remnants of individual economy, and trade fairs are held mainly for the purpose of exchanging commodities among private individuals. Although, in this regard, the state has laid down certain policy stipulations to restrict capitalist tendencies, yet because the law of value still plays a certain role in regulating production, capitalist spontaneous forces thus have a more extensive scope for activity. If they are not restricted, they will expand the contradictions between this part of the individual economy and the collective economy, and even such capitalist tendencies as abandoning agriculture in favor of trade may appear, thereby causing capitalism to assume disastrous proportions and bringing about the dissolution of the socialist collective economy. Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and people like them called for "four big freedoms" and "san-tzu I-pao" precisely for the purpose of achieving their criminal plot of restoring capitalism through infinitely extending the commodity system and exchange through money, developing capitalist factors, and fostering bourgeois elements.

The system of ownership by the whole people is the highest form of the socialist system of public ownership, and the state-run economy is the leading force of the national economy. At the present stage, however, commodity production and commodity exchange are still retained. A part of the products produced by enterprises under whole-people ownership have to be exchanged as commodities for the products produced under the system of collective ownership; that part of the means of subsistence supplied to the workers and staff members has to be distributed in the form of commodities through the market; within the economy of the whole-people

ownership, the means of production is mainly allocated centrally by state material supply departments, but a price must be fixed. The production, distribution and circulation of state-operated enterprises are under the unified leadership and control of state planning, and in the great majority of units, they are carried out according to state plans. However, owing to the existence of commodity production and commodity exchange, there is likewise the contradiction between use value and value. The nature of the economy of the whole-people ownership is such that it requires enterprises to proceed from satisfying the needs of the whole of society and to produce greater quantities of products of more varieties, better quality and lower labor consumption. However, the commodity economy requires them to use value as a tool for economic accounting to compute the output value, cost and profit. Enterprises must not only consider the use value but also consider value, and this is a contradiction. If enterprises depart from the Party's basic line, are subject to the limitations of the commodity economy, and forget the goal of production under the system of whole-people ownership, they will have the capitalist tendencies toward onesided pursuit of output value and profit. For instance, they would only produce or produce more of those products with a high output value and high profits; they would not produce or produce less those products with a small output value and low profit. They would stress output value and slight varieties; stress quantity and slight quality. Even worse, they would take profit as the only goal of production and completely sink into the capitalist quagmire.

Putting profit in command is a capitalist principle of business operations. The capitalist goal of production is to get maximum profit. Contrary to the capitalist goal, the socialist goal of production is to satisfy the needs of the laboring people, and not to gain profit. Profit, too, is needed for the socialist economy, but it can only result from keeping to the socialist orientation of business operations, from all-round fulfillment of state plans, and from increasing production and practicing frugality. Under no circumstances must profit be put in command. Some people say: "Because money made goes to the public and not to the private, we have 'socialist' and not 'capitalist' profits." This view is apparently wrong. If an enterprise is motivated by profit alone, making greater efforts to do things that give it a big profit and less efforts to do things that give it a small profit and refraining from doing things that give it no profit at all, it would change the socialist goal of production and the direction of operation, upset the state plans, disrupt socialist production and market supply, and create all sorts of loopholes to be exploited by certain persons for carrying out criminal activities such as corruption, stealing, profiteering and manipulations. Practice proves that if the leadership of a state-run enterprise is not in the hands of genuine Marxists and the masses of workers, and if it does not follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line but carries out the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao in putting profit in command and promoting material incentives, it may still be a unit of public ownership and a socialist economic unit in form, but actually it would turn into a unit of capitalist ownership, a capitalist enterprise hanging out the signboard of socialism.

In short, the existence of the commodity system and exchange through money in socialist society still furnishes soil engendering capitalism

and bourgeois elements. Such things, which differ very little from those of the old society, must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Unless we recognize this, we will easily lose our vigilance against bourgeois right and be deceived by the revisionist line. In this respect, the historical lessons of the first socialist country in the world, the Soviet Union, turning into a capitalist country are very profound indeed. After the Khrushchev and Brezhnev revisionist cliques came to power, they pushed the revisionist line in an all-round manner, going all out to call for putting money in command and material incentives and proclaiming the ruble as a "powerful locomotive." In the rural areas, they expanded the private plots and family sideline occupations, bringing about a drastic growth of private commodity economy. In state-run enterprises, they enforced the so-called "new system of economic incentives," encouraging enterprises to run after profits and engage in free competition. They ruled that enterprises might sell their "surplus" equipment and tools, lease their plant buildings and warehouses "temporarily not in use," and "recruit and lay off" workers on their own. In respect to commodity circulation, they supported and developed the free markets in urban and rural areas, ruling that on the market of collective farms "prices must not be subject to any restriction and adjustment," and prohibiting anyone from "soliciting a certificate of origin of production from the seller." The Soviet Union today has really become a "free world" for commodities and money, with labor power also being a commodity. Under the domination of the revisionist line, the development of this commodity system has promoted the rapid dissolution of the system of ownership of the collective farms. The socialist state-operated enterprises have ceased to exist in fact, although they remain in name. Both new and old bourgeois elements are again riding on the backs of the laboring people. Capitalism has been restored on a full scale.

When we impose restriction on the commodity system, the bourgeoisie will naturally oppose such restriction. The struggle for and against restriction will still be protracted and acute. Since the building of new China, our Party has waged repeated and tit-for-tat struggles against the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and has adopted a series of policies and measures to curb the negative effects brought about by the commodity system and exchange through money. It has achieved remarkable results. However, being protracted and complex in nature, class struggle will not come to an end after a few rounds. We must take Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory as a weapon, seriously sum up the historical experience, and adopt appropriate methods and steps to continue to restrict bourgeois right in the commodity system.

Some people say: "Since the commodity system may still engender capitalism and the bourgeoisie, let's abolish it right away." We cannot agree with this view. There is an objective basis for the existence of the commodity system in socialist society, a fact that cannot be changed according to man's will. So long as the two kinds of public ownership--whole-people ownership and collective ownership--still exist, the products of peasants cannot be centrally allocated by the state, and the interflow of materials between town and country can only be effected through the channel of commodity exchange. The commodity system can only be restricted, and cannot be abolished quickly. The ultra-Right essence of the call by Liu Shao-ch'i and Ch'en Po-ta for immediate abolition of commodity production

was abolition of commodity production that served socialism and allowing the revival of the capitalist commodity economy. The field of commodity production and commodity exchange is a battleground for the struggle between the two classes and two lines, and if it is not taken by socialism, it will certainly be taken by capitalism.

Some people hold the belief that to restrict the commodity system means to reduce commodity production a little. This, too, is a mistaken notion. As a matter of fact, our country at present does not have an excess of commodities. It still has not enough of them, far from satisfying the needs of production and the livelihood of the people. From now on, we must still keep to the socialist orientation and, according to the Party's policies, develop commodity production under leadership and in a systematic way and organize well exchange of commodities and supply of materials between town and country. We must send more farm machines, chemical fertilizers, and manufactured goods of daily use to the countryside, and supply the cities with more grain and agricultural and subsidiary products. To restrict the commodity system means to restrict the bourgeois right in the commodity economy, to curb the spontaneous effects of the law of value, to curb the capitalist tendencies in the commodity economy, and not to reduce the output of commodities nor reduce the proportion of commodities in the rural collective economy.

We must not only allow the commodity system and exchange through money to exist on a long-term basis but also restrict them. This is a more complicated theoretical and practical problem. In order to draw a clear line of distinction in ideology and policy, we "should read some more Marxist-Leninist books," study well the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and truly define the relationship between restricting the commodity system and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only thus can we raise our consciousness of line struggle, consciously criticize capitalist tendencies, resist the attack and erosion of the capitalist principle of commodity exchange against the Party's political life, and better carry out the Party and state policies and regulations concerning the restriction of the commodity system. Only thus can we in practical work seriously enforce the policy of "developing the economy and insuring supplies," uphold the principle "planning first, pricing second," oppose the revisionist line that puts profit in command and promotes material incentives, and continue to win in the struggle to restrict bourgeois right.

* * *

Strive to Make the Subjective Conform to the Objective

- How Have We Gradually Improved Weather Forecasting?

by

Shuich'eng Meteorological Station, Kweichow

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975)

Summary of the Content: The following article deals with the understanding of the comrades of Shuich'eng Meteorological Station from applying the Marxist theory of knowledge to improving weather forecasting work. For more than ten years, proceeding from the needs of the workers, peasants and soldiers, they have persistently carried out investigations and study by going deep into realities, humbly learning from and summing up the experiences of the masses in reading the sky, striving hard to raise perceptual knowledge to the level of rational knowledge, overcoming the erroneous tendency toward treating book knowledge with a dogmatic attitude, and unceasingly exploring the climatic features of their area. After many years of practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge, they have gradually mastered the laws governing weather changes peculiar to the Shuich'eng area. Beginning with March 1972, they have produced "month-long daily weather forecast," with an accuracy approaching 70 percent to date.

Our Shuich'eng Meteorological Station, set up in 1956, has presently six meteorologists. It is a basic-level combat unit on the meteorological front. For more than ten years, we have persistently been using the Marxist theory of knowledge to guide our meteorological work. In the course of repeated practice, we have continued to explore and master the objective laws governing weather changes in Shuich'eng in an effort to gain the freedom in "controlling Heaven" in our area in the shortest possible time. In 1958, we broke the "rule" that a meteorological station at the county level could only handle ordinary meteorological observations but not weather forecasting, and issued "a single station's supplementary weather forecast."(1) In 1960, we again released a forecast on the long-range weather trends. Our thinking further set free by the great proletarian cultural revolution, in March 1972 we produced a "month-long daily weather forecast."(2) After more than three years of practice, the accuracy attained has reached approximately 70 percent.

When we first began to produce weather forecast, we thought it was simple work and that all we had to do was to add our weather observations to the weather forecast of the meteorological observatory. As a result, our forecasts were sometimes right and sometimes wrong, causing quite a number of embarrassing incidents. Work was extremely passive. At first, we blamed it on our inadequate knowledge and poor skills, and we wanted to find a way out from books. However, after a period of delving into

books, apart from gaining some more general meteorological knowledge, our forecasts were still inaccurate. Why?

Chairman Mao teaches us: "If a man wants to succeed his work, that is, to achieve the anticipated results, he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice." This shows that in order to be able to accurately forecast the weather changes in the Shuich'eng area, it is necessary to master the laws governing local climatic changes, so that our ideas will conform with the laws of the objective external world. But we knew nothing about the climatic features peculiar to the Shuich'eng area or the geographical and topographical conditions that caused such climatic conditions, so we were bound to "run into snags" when we produced a local weather forecast. After we found out the problem, with leaders taking the lead and everyone going to the countryside by turn every year, we have conducted penetrating investigations into realities and humbly learned from the experience of the masses in sky-reading. Beginning with the winter of 1958, we have resolutely come out from the observation site and offices, and taking the 3,900-odd square kilometers of land in Shuich'eng as a classroom and the laboring people of various nationalities there as teachers, we have conducted on a wide scale investigations into the weather and climatic conditions. Through such investigations, we found that the topographical features of Shuich'eng are very complicated, the highest altitude being over 2,800 meters above sea level and the lowest less than 700 meters. Thus, the climatic differences are very great. In the area as a whole, there are three types of climate, frigid, temperate and tropical. Even in a single production team, different types of climate exist. For more than ten years, we have covered over 30,000 li on foot, visiting the 12 zones of Shuich'eng and 90 percent of the people's communes and 70 percent of the production brigades, obtaining first-hand information--numbering about 300,000 words--on weather and climatic conditions, which laid the foundation for our study of the laws governing weather changes in the Shuich'eng area.

However, this information alone was not enough to solve the problem as it only contained fragmentary, superficial and perceptual things, far from revealing the essence and inner connection of objective things. In order to elevate our perceptual knowledge to the level of rational knowledge, we categorized the voluminuous and rich first-hand information that we had gathered roughly into three main parts: natural conditions, sky-reading experiences of the masses, and agricultural meteorology. We then analyzed them one by one and strove to make our subjective knowledge reflect the objective actual conditions in as a general manner as was possible.

The broad masses of laboring people have accumulated rich experiences in reading the sky through long years of practice. To seriously analyze and repeatedly study these experiences is an important aspect for us to understand and master the laws of weather changes. These experiences are extremely rich in content, some reflecting the laws of movement of cold air, some bearing on weather forecast on the basis of climatic conditions of the preceding period, some concerning weather forecasts by means of physical and heavenly portents. For instance, there is a popular saying in sky-reading: "If on the 15th of the eighth moon clouds cover the moon, on the

15th of the first moon snow will spoil the lantern." At first, all we knew was that if the "clouds cover the moon" on the 15th of the eighth moon, the forecast that it would snow on the 15th of the first moon the following year would be more accurate. But why was there a connection between the clouds on the 15th of the eighth moon and the snow on the 15th of the first moon? What kind of laws of climatic changes did this relation reflect? We weren't sure. It was only after a number of analytical studies that we discovered that although the clouds in mid-Autumn and the snow on the 15th of the first moon differ in form, they are both manifestations of the movement of cold air, the cold air movement being the root cause of "clouds covering the moon" and "snow spoiling the lantern." Then, did the cyclical changes within this period of about 150 days from the 15th of the eighth moon to the 15th of the first moon reflect a law governing cold air movement? When we checked the historical data covering a period of seven years, we found that of 146 cold air movements, 80 percent lasted about 150 days. This meant that cold air movements generally would last 150 days in the Shuich'eng area. So, we again studied the popular sayings concerning cold air movement, such as "if it snows for 120 days before spring, it will snow 90 days after it," "if it doesn't rain on the Ch'ingming Festival, grain will be short of rain," "if there is no rain on the 9th day of the ninth moon, look to the 13th day; if there is no rain on the 13th day, the whole winter will be dry," etc. Making a comprehensive analysis in light of these, we found that cold air movement might also last 210, 180, 120, 90 and 15 days. Such rational knowledge, as elevated from perceptual knowledge, was more profound and correct than perceptual knowledge, more fully reflecting nature and gradually improving our understandin of the laws governing cold air activity.

After continuous analysis and study, we drew up, on the basis of this 300,000-words of information, 13 natural and climatic zoning charts of the Shuich'eng area, illustrating among other things the topography, temperature, rainfall, frost period, hail, drought, agricultural crop distribution, plant diseases and insect pests. All this enabled us to acquire a general understanding of the geographical environment in Shuich'eng and of some laws pertaining to changes in temperature, the frost period, rainfall, the extent of the drought, hail distribution, the demand of major farm crops for meteorological conditions and the outbreak and development of plant diseases and insect pests as caused by three different types of climate.

Practice is the criterion for testing truth. Were the ideas we gained from investigations and analyses correct? They still had to be tested in practice. In 1972, we devised an index for forecasting the rainy season. Could this index correctly reflect the arrival of the rainy season in the coming year? We were not so sure. We let it be tested in practice. Applied in 1973 and 1974, it yielded good results, proving that our knowledge did conform more or less to objective reality. But practice also proved that our knowledge still did not conform entirely to objective reality. For instance, we once believed that the appearance of a "cold front trough type"(3) weather situation in spring and summer would signal heavy rains. So, whenever the meteorological observatory reported the appearance of a "cold front trough type" weather situation, we would forecast heavy rains, which often did not come. This meant that we had to renew our investigations,

analyses and study in order to make our subjective ideas agree with objective facts. To this end, we made a general check of data concerning the "cold front trough type" weather situation, to analyze it in light of Shuich'eng's characteristics. It was then that we found that in a "cold front trough type" weather situation, there would be heavy rains here only when the air contained a great amount of vapor. The basic cause of heavy rains here was the effect of the trough in high altitudes, and whether the "cold front" passed over the ground was not the main reason. This helped us bring our knowledge of the heavy rainfall in the Shuich'eng area during spring and summer closer to the objective reality. Thus, by negating the incorrect part of our knowledge of the local weather changes through constant affirmation of the correct part the degree of accuracy of our local weather forecasting has been raised continuously.

The question of how we treat book knowledge is also an important question of whether we can correctly understand the laws governing weather changes. With regard to book knowledge, in our opinion, we should see, on the one hand, that it is a summing up of the practical experience of our predecessors and should respect it. But to us, it is indirect experience, and to turn it into direct experience requires practice. On the other hand, we must also recognize that, due to restriction of social conditions, there is a great deal of limitation in book knowledge. Furthermore, owing to the constant development and change of things, some data are no longer applicable. There are even erroneous theories failing to reflect the objective laws of things, and these must not be followed blindly or applied mechanically. For instance, some books say: "If the daily average temperature is below eleven degree Centigrade, seedlings may rot." After making practical observations, checking historical data, and conducting experiments at selected spots, it was proved that this wasn't the case in the Shuich'eng area and that seedlings would rot only when the daily average temperature dropped to below 9 degrees Centigrade for three consecutive days. We then proposed to the Party committee to advance the sowing time in the frigid mountainous area from the "Kuyü" to the "Ch'ingming" period so that the paddy rice during its flowering and filling might avoid the harm often caused by the low-temperature and rainy weather that frequently occurred in late summer and early autumn, thereby insuring a harvest. Also, on the division of the four seasons, some books say that summer days arrived only when the "average temperature" was above 22 degrees Centigrade. To judge Shuich'eng's condition by this theory, there would be only a few summer days in some years and no summer days at all in other years. So, according to the books, Shuich'eng had no summer and not only could not grow rice but even could not grow maize in a greater part of the area. But the fact is that Shuich'eng grows not only maize but also rice, yielding over a thousand catties per mow in some places. Isn't this a joke? Through practical observations during the period of flowering and filling of rice, we discovered that if the daily average temperature was stabilized at 18 degrees Centigrade and above, the needs of rice for flowering and filling could be satisfied and the rice could ripen. We then regarded the stability of the average temperature at 18 degrees Centigrade as the standard for the division of summer. Moreover, based on the meteorological

data, we defined summer as lasting from June 29 to August 26. This provided a definite scientific basis for the utilization of local heat resources and for the popularization of new crop varieties and new techniques. Facts have once more shown that it is very harmful to regard book knowledge with a dogmatic attitude. It shackles our thinking, preventing us from understanding things correctly and hindering the development of our scientific cause. In the realm of science and technology, subduing the wrong tendencies to worship foreign dogmas and to have blind faith in book knowledge is still a problem to which we must pay close attention.

The aim of the proletariat in understanding the world is to change it. Knowing the laws of weather and climate, we must direct meteorological work dynamically and make it serve socialist construction and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In crucial periods of farmwork, we make a major effort to grasp the principal problems of agricultural meteorology and improve weather forecasting so as to serve agriculture. In accordance with the needs of production, we often go on our own initiative to the grassroots level to find out about the state of production, agricultural meteorological conditions and the demands of production units on meteorology. We also promptly supply the Party committee and departments concerned with all kinds of data concerning weather forecasting and meteorological service for agriculture. In order to meet the needs of rapid industrial development, on the basis of supplying weather forecasts and climatic data, we have taken the initiative in providing on-the-spot meteorological service. For instance, to help the electricity supply department to beat the "ice tiger," we, alongside the worker comrades, braved the cold and went to Pashih Mountains to see how high-voltage power lines had been covered by the ice, and furnished useful data for conquering the "ice tiger." We went to capital construction sites where we provided weather forecast on the spot. As a result, a 120-meter-high chimney was not damaged for weather reasons in the course of construction. We went to the railway department to assist the worker comrades in determining and mastering the air-pressure data along the rail tracks, thereby raising the efficiency of locomotive operation. We went to a construction site of an army unit where we provided forecast about humidity changes, thus preventing the situation in which the dynamite could not be set off because of humidity. We went to coal mines and provided the worker comrades with data for the prevention of gas explosions. In our effort to improve meteorological service, for the last ten years and more, we have incessantly strengthened the meteorological service system by carrying out regular checks of service quality and frequently soliciting views from the user departments. Since the station was established, the scope of our service has continued to expand. The number of copies of the month-long weather trend forecast bulletin has risen from nearly a hundred when it was first produced in 1960 to more than 600 at present, while more than 1,400 copies of the quarterly weather trend forecast bulletin are now published.

From over ten years of practice, we have come to realize deeply that we can gradually know and change the objective world and change our own subjective world while changing the objective world only when we persist in the Marxist theory of knowledge. And changing our own

subjective world has deepened our understanding of the objective world, enabling us to change it in a more proper way. We have merely taken the first step in knowing the laws of weather changes in the Shuich'eng area. We are resolved to seriously read Marxist-Leninist books and Chairman Mao's works, study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and apply dialectical materialism to continuously explore and master the laws governing weather changes so that meteorological work will render better service to socialist construction and to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

Notes:

(1) A local weather forecast based on weather forecast issued by provincial and district meteorological observatories supplemented and revised by actual observations of local weather changes and the experiences of the masses in reading the sky and, in the meantime, in consideration of local geographical, topographical and climatic features.

(2) Daily weather forecast for the whole of next month.

(3) The boundary surface where cold and warm air meet is called a "frontal surface" in meteorology. When warm air is pushed upward by cold air, the boundary surface formed is called a "cold front." At the same altitude air pressure is unevenly distributed. A zone with high air pressure on three sides and low air pressure on one side is called a "trough." A weather situation in which a "cold front" appears on the ground with a "trough" appearing in the high altitude is called a "cold front trough type."

Three Short Commentaries

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975)

The Idea of Work According to Pay Is Bad

by

Li Hsiao-ssu (李小四), worker of General Machinery Plant, Sinkiang Production and Construction Corps

Studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat has generated tremendous socialist enthusiasm among us workers. Working with all our might, sweating profusely and promoting the communist spirit, we are contributing as much as we can toward combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under this fine situation, however, some people in society are singing the tune "work according to pay." This idea is extremely harmful and should be refuted.

The socialist principle of distribution is "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work." Here, we first stress "from each according to his ability," namely, requiring every person engaged in socialist labor to give full scope to his initiative, to serve the people wholeheartedly, to persistently continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and contribute his all to the creation of social material and spiritual wealth. But the view--"work according to pay"--puts the cart before the horse. Instead of first talking about "from each according to his ability" and making a success of revolution and production, people clinging to this view work according to their pay, doing more when they are paid more, doing less when they are paid less, and doing nothing when they receive no pay. Money thus dominates everything. Here, one does not see proletarian politics put in command nor the attitude of workers as masters. This attitude of putting money to the fore in doing work is against the ideas and interests of the working class.

In the all-evil society of old, many of our old workers were forced to sell their labor power as commodity to the capitalists, toiling for them like beasts of burden, inadequately fed and clad. Their life was a tragic one. Under such circumstances, in order to resist capitalist oppression and exploitation, it was something of positive significance to work according to pay, or not to work even when paid. In socialist society, our working class is the leading class of the state and we workers are the masters of our enterprises. No matter where we work and what we do, we no longer sell our labor power to the capitalists; we are building socialism, laying a solid material foundation for combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The greater the success we make of revolution and production, the more contributions we will make toward socialism. The higher our enthusiasm in grasping revolution and promoting production, the more we will be praised by the Party and the people. If we work only according to pay, we will

turn our relationship with the state and the collective into a relationship of commodity exchange, a relationship between buyer and seller, instead of putting ourselves in the position of masters. Those who have this idea will naturally be blind to the identity between personal interests and the interests of the state and the collective, and will always deal with the socialist cause with the mercenary concept. On one occasion, Chairman Mao, criticizing those comrades within the revolutionary ranks who had the mercenary concept, pointed out: they "do not recognize themselves as the mainstay of the revolution, thinking that they are responsible only to their superiors, not to the revolution." Those who would work only according to pay precisely forget that they are the mainstay of the revolution as well as forgetting their responsibility to the revolution. Building socialism has all along been a task for us workers. In this great struggle, we have every reason to make more contributions to the people and the revolution, and no reason at all to bargain with the Party and the state.

In the prolonged revolutionary struggle, countless revolutionary martyrs, in order to liberate the "poor people of the world," never hesitated to sacrifice all they had, shedding their blood and losing their heads. None of them had ever thought of the question of "how much money I'll get." Comrade Norman Bethune's glorious deeds are very familiar to all of us. In the eyes of those bourgeois philistines, Bethune, being a good doctor, could have made a lot of money in a capitalist society. But this great communist fighter did not do this; instead, he travelled thousands of miles to China to help in the war to resist Japan. What was this spiritual force that drove him? It was, as Chairman Mao pointed out, "the spirit of a genuine Communist," "the spirit of doing everything for others and not for oneself." When a person has this spirit, he will become noble, pure and moral, and will always think of the revolution and nothing but the revolution; he will never bother himself with the question of money nor do things of low taste. Tu Hung-liang, a communist fighter, said rightly: "If you have the revolution in mind, you will have inexhaustible energy for work." Those who spend their time all day long thinking "how much money I'll get" will never devote themselves to the revolution. Lenin said: "To work for money--this is the morality of the capitalist world." In building socialism, we must criticize the morality of the capitalist world, promote the communist spirit, and promote the communist attitude toward labor--to work voluntarily, unregulated and unpaid. We must completely break with the old concept of "callously concerning oneself with pay, being unwilling to work half an hour more and receive a penny less than others."

Some people may say: Paying more for more work done may stimulate one to work harder. This is nothing else but revisionist "material incentive." Political swindlers like Lin Piao try to stir up discontent with such absurdities as "zeal for work comes from material incentive" and "if wages are not increased a little, production enthusiasm won't be high." They do this with the object of luring a section of people who are more deeply influenced by the idea of bourgeois right into taking the wrong road, and we must never fall into their trap. To arouse people's production initiative, the most important way is to educate them with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, to do patient, meticulous

political and ideological work among them. Since the beginning of this year, our workshop has not increased wages, but its production targets have been exceeded month after month. By May 23, the production plan for the first half of the year was fulfilled ahead of schedule. Why? Because, having been educated in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, having seriously studied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and having further criticized the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, we have all raised our ideological consciousness and initiative. Production has gone up as a result.

The tasks of struggle facing us workers are extremely stupendous. We must do all we can to build the royal road leading to communism. Those who can carry a load of a thousand catties will not carry a load of 999½ catties. To us proletarian revolutionaries, the greatest happiness in life is to bend ourselves to the task of building socialism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and realizing communism until we die.

*

Do We Have to Rely on "Gifts" in Promoting Cooperation?

by

Workers Theory Group of Shanghai No. 13 Radio Plant

Our plant produces machine frames and has to rely on component plants for the supply of parts. For this reason, certain people of our plant often shake their heads and sigh, deploring the fact that they have to seek favors in getting things done by offering "gifts" to cooperating units.

Must we rely on "gifts" in promoting cooperation? No. In our state of proletarian dictatorship, though differing in the type of work they do, all factories are socialist enterprises engaged in a joint struggle to carry out socialist revolution and socialist construction well. Take the relationship between our machine frame plant and the component plants for example. Neither can do without the other. The fact that in cooperation we must persevere in promoting the "Dragon River style" is determined by the nature of the socialist system. Particularly since the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the cadres and the masses of workers have seriously studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and the communist spirit has never been developed to such a great extent. Cooperation among factories, industries and departments has given rise to many heart-warming instances, in which "when one has difficulties, people come to help from all directions" and "one gives the conveniences to others while keeping the difficulties to drive oneself." So, the allegation that we cannot make a success of cooperation without the use of "gifts" underestimates the consciousness of the cadres and the masses, an expression of the lack of confidence in and understanding of the new-type relationship among men under the socialist system.

In socialist society, given the existence of commodity and exchange through money, the various units need to devise a certain output value target and carry out business accounting. This is of course indispensable to socialist economic work, but because of it, they are often liable to be eroded by the capitalist style of business operations, which, reflected within an enterprise, takes the form of departmentalism: caring only for the partial interests of one's own unit or department without taking into consideration the overall interests of the state. In order to satisfy their unit's unreasonable demands, they would give up the revolutionary principles and, instead of taking the correct path, take to the wrong path. They even go to the extent of doing things at the expense of the state, thereby damaging the interests of the state and the people. In the past, some cadres of our plant used to regard the cooperative relations as purely relations between two contracting parties, thinking that "once the contract is signed, everything will be done smoothly." As to what difficulties the worker masses of the other plant would run into when executing the contract, they just couldn't care less. When output in their own plant rose by a big margin, they did not take the initiative to inform the contracting plant; only when the components ran out of supplies did they urgently send a "SOS" to it. This naturally resulted in disputes between the two parties. When confronted with such problems as these, some comrades would either keep on grumbling and accusing the other party or else blaming their own plant for not letting "gifts take the lead." This completely confused the issue.

The notion that "gifts" are necessary for promoting cooperation actually stems from intrusion of the capitalist principle of commodity exchange into the relations of socialist cooperation. In capitalist society, relations between enterprises are essentially relations of mutual competition: big fish swallows small fish. They too practice cooperation, but such cooperation can only be maintained by dinner and gifts in the most hypocritical and vulgar way. The influence of such a style of work is a highly toxic corrosive in socialist society today, and unless we resist and combat it, it is bound to undermine the socialist relations of production. As a matter of fact, within those units which refuse to cooperate with others unless given "gifts" or "other benefits," there is bound to be buck-passing and procrastination, with the evil atmosphere prevailing and the socialist spirit suppressed. These places often are hotbeds breeding new bourgeois elements and corroding the thinking of cadres and the masses. Behind "exchange of goods" or "exchange of gifts" are hidden acts benefiting oneself at the public expense or turning public interest into private interest. To subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lin Piao and company declared vociferously that "favors are greater than the laws of kings." We must raise our vigilance against this and must not be duped.

To handle the relations of cooperation well, it is most important for both parties to put proletarian politics in command. Provided both proceed from the whole and revolutionary principles, there should be no problem that cannot be solved through consultations. Recently, after studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we recognized more clearly the harm of evil practices in cooperation. Not long ago, when our plant produced in quantity a new-type electronic calculator, we were in short supply of certain components from the cooperating plant. But when

we told the cadres and workers of the cooperating plant, they said unhesitatingly: "Your difficulties are ours. We'll supply you with all the parts you need according to the prescribed quality and quantity and on schedule!" What a lofty style! Faced with these facts, the idea that "'gifts' are necessary in promoting cooperation" may just be laid to rest!

*

Beginning with a Red Cord for Hairdressing

by

Party Branch of Liyingtzu Department Store, Huainan City

Our store is the only the state-operated department store in the Liyingtzu Coal Mining area, located between urban and rural areas. In 1970, the workers had asked us: "Why is it that this retail store of yours doesn't sell red hairdressing cords but lets profiteers sell them at a high price in front of your store?" This attracted our attention. An investigation showed that a number of profiteers had bought catties of rolls of woollen thread and nylon cord from our store, unrolled them and sold them as piece goods to the masses at a high price. This of course aroused the discontent of the masses toward our store.

According to their opinions, we had adopted some measures, but some comrades paid little attention to such small commodities as needles and thread. They thought that unrolling bolts of woolen thread and selling them as red hairdressing cords was not only troublesome but unprofitable, with little effect on the fulfillment of the sales and profit targets. It was, they said, like "hunting rabbits on New Year's Eve--we'll spend New Year's Day with or without them.

Recently, we seriously studied Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and summed up afresh past experience and lessons. The comrades said that it was impermissible to belittle such small commodities as red cord for the hair, because it was needed too. With everyone gaining a new understanding of the importance of selling small commodities, our service attitude changed.

Why do we say small commodities are also important?

Small commodities are closely related to the daily life of the masses. Who can do without such small commodities as needles and thread, thimbles, buckles, hair clips and belts? Some commodities may be bought by the catty or tael to be used for a while. But there are things of which only a little bit is required. For instance, if a single miner drops a buckle or a hole appears in his clothes, all he has to do is to buy a needle and some thread. More than that he does not need. To enable the masses to buy just what they need and not to overbuy, a good method is to reduce the retail quantity of commodities to be sold. Now, from our store one can buy one foot of woolen thread. With one fen, one may buy a needle and three spools of thread. With five fen, one may buy a

pack of saccharine. We also set up a number of marketing points for retail sales of commodities. The masses praise our store as a "dear store." It can be seen that though small, small commodities are widely used and demanded in large quantities. If they are properly sold, they can facilitate people's livelihood and warm their hearts as well.

If a state-run department store is unwilling to sell such small commodities as needles and thread on the ground that they mean too much work, then a chance is given to profiteers as well as to small producers wanting to take the capitalist road. If you are afraid of trouble, they are not; if you are reluctant to do it, they are willing to do it. They buy a great quantity of small commodities from the state-run store and then re-sell them at a high price, thus using the people's commodities to exploit the people. These people have a particularly sharp mind and will leave no stone unturned. They sell what the state-run store lacks or would not sell. They do what we don't do. Although both they and we are in business, the results are completely different. They do business in order to make a big fortune and take to the capitalist road. If we don't sell small commodities, it means that we turn over this trade to capitalism, thus objectively aiding its growth. This is because the development of small economy means the development of the petty bourgeoisie, that is, the development of capitalism.

Therefore, it can be said that whether a state-run store sells such small commodities as red cord for the hair is actually a question of question of whether it has the mass viewpoint. At the same time, it is a big question of whether to strike at or aid profiteering activities, to dig away or add to the soil engendering new bourgeois elements.

Retail sales of such small commodities as red cords indeed have little effect on the fulfillment of our commodity marketing and profit targets. But a socialist enterprise does not primarily aim to make profit, and if it puts profit in command, it will surely take the wrong path. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, our store had had such lessons. At that time, in order to overfulfill the profit target, it used bonuses to stimulate the sales assistants to sell more, and who were the buyers of people's commodities was no concern of theirs. The result was that profiteers easily bought the commodities from the counter and re-sold them for huge profits. At that time, it was true, the sales and profit targets of the store were overfulfilled. But the profiteers had a good grab, too. This caused a great political loss to our state store.

Profitability must be first considered on the political plane, we must see who reaps the profit. If what we do is beneficial to the proletariat and to socialism, we must do it even if we sustain a temporary loss. If it is beneficial to the bourgeoisie and to capitalism, we must stop doing it even though we can make a higher profit. Of course, this is not to say that the state-run store can ignore the question of profit, since it also has the duty of accumulating funds for socialist construction. But in no way can it take the profit plan as an excuse for putting profits in command. Over the years, by energetically extending the scope of operations, increasing the varieties of goods, setting up more marketing points, and continuing to improve the quality of service,

we have not only overfulfilled the sales and profit plans but also achieved a big-margin growth in business turnover year after year.

A people's store is not only a logistics department satisfying the livelihood needs of the people but also a front line in the struggle between the two classes and two roads. To attach major importance to the operating scope of small commodities is, in the final analysis, to give convenience to the masses, to insure supplies, and take the initiative in the fight against capitalist tendencies. While standing behind the counters, we must work hard to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat in the sphere of commodity circulation. This is a very outstanding problem confronting us sales assistants, and at no time should we lose sight of it.

* * *

Study Theory, Promote Production

- Investigation report on Tientsin Municipal Electronic Instruments Plant

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975)

Tientsin Municipal Electronic Instruments Plant produces ultra-low frequency electronic instruments and electronic calculators. In the first half of this year, thanks to the serious study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, the production situation grew more and more favorable. Now, the state plan for the first six months has been over-fulfilled in an all-round manner one month ahead of time, creating the highest production record ever attained in a comparable period since the factory came into being. This shows us once again that the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat personally led by Chairman Mao is a great driving force behind the rapid development of our country's production, that once the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been mastered by the masses, it will become a tremendous material force in changing society and the world.

Since the beginning of this year, the cadres and the masses of workers of this plant have repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and some of the statements by Marx, Engels and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party committee has held successively various types of theory study classes, with the number of participants representing more than 60 percent of the plant's work force. Through studying theory and in light of the reality of class and line struggles in the plant, the workers comparing themselves with the workers of Tach'ing, found out their shortcomings. They said: The workers of Tach'ing have studied Marxism seriously, and remembering the "two theories," resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. But we do not have an adequate understanding of the vital significance of studying Marxism and are not highly conscious of the need to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The Tach'ing workers, to further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and strengthen the material basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, dared to throw the backward cap of our country's oil industry into the Pacific Ocean, but we do not work hard enough to make the electronic industry serve the modernization of agriculture, industry, national defense, science and technology. The Tach'ing workers have achieved an annual growth of 31 percent in output, yet we are content with remaining in the midstream, saying "the progress is not big, but it continues every year, and the contribution is not large, but it is made every year." Why such a big gap? The root cause stems from our failure to clearly understand the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and from lack of ambitions to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Through theoretical studies, the "squad" of the Party committee raised its understanding, unified its thoughts and unanimously indicated: "In order to raise the consciousness of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must make an earnest effort to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat." The old workers responded: "We of the working class must take care not only of work but also of the line. In order to continue the revolution persistently, we must strive to scale

the peak of theory." The young workers chimed in: "Through studying theory, we must understand why we must exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and become good successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause." The cadres and the masses, having raised their consciousness of class and line struggles, have shown remarkable changes in their mentality.

Such changes are shown primarily in the fact that the broad masses of workers have gained a clear knowledge of the danger of such revisionist fallacies as material incentives peddled by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, resulting in the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" being more deeply appreciated. In the course of studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, the workers recalled the lessons they had learned from the practice of material incentives in their plant in the past. Before the great proletarian cultural revolution, a great variety of bonuses were offered, yet production stagnated. Several years ago, the plant paid out bonuses in the name of "labor competition," yet production was not "stimulated" in any way. It is clearly seen that material incentives, instead of "stimulating" production, will corrupt the workers and impair their unity, with undesirable consequences. In trumpeting material incentive, Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao actually wanted to extend bourgeois right in a vain attempt to change the socialist direction of our enterprise and restore capitalism. To develop socialist production, we must put proletarian politics in command, and not practice material incentives. Take the first half of this year for example. The production task was heavy but production rose very rapidly in the absence of such things as material incentive. Why? The basic reason was that through study the workers had enhanced their socialist activism and promoted the communist spirit. While studying theory, the workers voluntarily organized shock brigades and worked as hard as the Tach'ing workers, vying for the filthy, heavy and urgent jobs. The instrument workshop was given the task of producing 300 transistor multi-channel, stable-voltage batteries this year. It was asked to produce 178 in the first six months. The workers proposed on their own initiative: "we must not only guarantee to do it but also do it ahead of schedule." After continuous battle, they succeeded in accomplishing the production plan for the whole year in only two months time. Once, the electronic calculator workshop was in danger of being unable to finish its monthly plan when it heard that the magnetic tape machine assembled by another plant could not enter the plant until the end of the month. What was to be done? The workers thought out ways to advance the production preparation work. In the past, it would take at least ten days to unpack the magnetic tape machine, convert it and connect it with other machines. But it took a little over three days this time, and the monthly production plan was completed on time.

Through theoretical studies, the workers have strengthened socialist cooperation and coordination in the plant in accordance with Chairman Mao's directive that following the basic solution of the ownership problem, special attention must be paid to adjusting the mutual relations among men. Early this year, workers of the assembly workshop, to raise production efficiency, proposed to build three semi-automatic production lines. The plant Party committee decided to let the molding gear repair workshop undertake the task of making the equipment

needed for the technical transformation in the assembly workshop. When the task was assigned, the leadership of the molding gear repair workshop rejected it, saying that the workshop was a repair and not a manufacturing workshop. In the course of studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers of the molding gear repair workshop held a discussion on this incident. They analyzed the wrong attitude of their workshop in handling relations with its fraternal workshops. They were reluctant to do any work which didn't give them "benefits" even if it was to meet the urgent requirements of other workshops, but were only too willing to do their jobs which "showed" their skills and were "profitable." They found that the relationship among workshops in a socialist enterprise owned by the whole people is an important aspect of the relationship among men within the enterprise. Such a relationship should be a new-type socialist relationship. However, as our country at present practices a commodity system, the capitalist principle of commodity exchange may still penetrate into the relationship among men within a socialist enterprise. So, in handling the relationship among fraternal workshops, "to work only when benefits can be gained" is precisely a manifestation of the capitalist principle of commodity exchange, and we mustn't let it grow unchecked in our enterprise. It was also recognized that the relationship among men and workshops is essentially a class relationship, and that in the struggle to increase production for socialist construction, we of the working class must "unite for one purpose, that is, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat." On no account must we copy the capitalist principle of commodity exchange. After understanding was raised, the leadership of this workshop gladly took back the task it had rejected. Working even on Sunday, they turned on all machine tools to produce the needed equipment on a crash basis. In merely 12 days, in cooperation with other fraternal workshops, they produced some special equipment of higher level including a semi-automatic screen printer. Never before had the plant produced so much in so short a time.

Influenced and driven by this workshop, not only have the rear workshops doing machine processing taken the initiative to assist the various assembly workshops, but the assembly workshops have also actively assisted the former. Once, when a machine processing workshop was producing an automatic punching machine on a crash basis, it met a technical problem in the part of program control. When the electronic calculator workshop heard about this, it immediately sent out its best technicians led by a responsible person to help solve the problem. With the mutual support and all-out cooperation among all its workers the plant had completed 30 technical innovation projects, made 18 pieces of equipment, and more than doubled its production efficiency in the first six months of this year.

Theoretical study has helped the workers to aim high, changing the original plans put forward by the plant leadership and drawing up an advanced plan that conformed to the demand for greater, faster, better and more economical results. Early this year, while the plant Party committee was discussing the plan, some comrades thought that since it took so much effort to accomplish last year's plan, they should at best aim to increase production a little for this year. Later, some people were worried lest the heavy production task might affect study. As a result,

a plan calling for a small increase in production was proposed. While studying theory, the workers discussed it in various ways. They said: only by striving to develop socialist production would it be possible to consolidate the strong material basis provided by the dictatorship of the proletariat, and yet the plant leadership had put forward such a plan of "a woman with bound feet," a plan that we should not reasonably accept. Some workers pointed out that just as the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius had promoted the development of production, so also would the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To set theoretical study against promotion of production was metaphysical and detrimental to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat; any idea like this should be resolutely overcome. These comments jolted the Party committee greatly. It again studied Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and his teaching on "grasp revolution, promote production." It studied the theses of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the dictatorship of the proletariat. It correctly adjusted the relationship between revolution and production, and persisted in putting the study movement first, while using it to promote production. Next, it mobilized all the workers to revise the plan taking Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory as the key link. It was revised four times, and the projected increase was raised from 9.8 percent to 15 percent and then to 38.2 percent on the basis of last year's output. Decisions were also taken to insure the quality of products and increase the new varieties. The workers said joyously: "This is a plan we should have after studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

At present, the movement to study the theory of the proletarian dictatorship is deepening in the plant. The workers are resolved to study and work harder in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the previous year's achievements as the starting point for continuing the revolution.

Investigation Team of Fourth Machine-Building
Ministry and Second Machine-Building Bureau
of Tientsin Municipality

* * *

The Legalist Line and Taoist Thought

- Reading the silk book "Ching Fa"

by

K'ang Li (康立) and Wei Chin (卫今)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975)

Toward the end of 1973, from Han Tomb No. 3 at Mawangtui, Changsha a batch of precious silk books /characters written on silk before paper was invented/ including a number of pre-Ch'in ancient books that had long been lost were excavated, totalling approximately 120,000 characters. This batch of silk books provide rich new data for the study of China's ancient history and philosophical thought, the study of the history of the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools and the study of ancient military science, geography, astronomy, the calendar, and medicine. This is yet another major new fruit gained after the excavation of bamboo slips from the Yinch'üeh Mountains by Chinese archaeologists since the great proletarian cultural revolution started.

Among this batch of silk books were two editions of "Lao Tzu." In both these editions "Te Ching" preceded the "Tao Ching," a reverse of the order in popular editions, and synchronized with the chapter "Understanding Lao Tzu" in a Legalist work "Han Fei Tzu." Preceding the edition B of "Lao Tzu" were four ancient booklets including "Ching Fa (经法)," "Shih Ta Ching (十大经)," "Ch'eng (称)," and "Tao Yüan (道原)," totalling more than 11,000 characters. (For annotations, see Wen Wu /Cultural Relics/, No. 10, 1974) Among these, in particular, "Ching Fa" has important reference value for the study of the evolution of the Legalist thought from the Warring States period to the early Han dynasty in our country and for an inquiry into the class essence of the "Huang-Lao" /Taoist/ doctrines revered by the ruling classes in early Han.

(I)

This ancient book "Ching Fa" is composed of nine chapters, "Tao Fa (道法)," "Kuo Tz'u (国次)," "Chün Cheng (君正)," "Liu Fen (六分)," "Ssu Tu (四度)," "Lun (论)," "Wang Lun (亡论)," "Lun Yüeh (论约)," and "Ming Li (名理)," totalling 5,000 characters. There is a close inner ideological connection between the various essays. The first chapter, "Tao Fa," is of a programmatic nature, verifying in an all-round manner the relationship between "Tao /Way/" and "Fa /Law/." "Kuo Tz'u" deals with the way in which the ruler of a state should wage a war of unification and makes a comparison between two different lines in war. "Chün Cheng" elucidates in greater detail the need for a war of unification to be based on the practice of the rule of law at home and rewarding those who open up and till the land and who go to war. "Liu Fen" and "Ssu Tu" explain the determining factors for the rise or fall of a state, with special emphasis on the importance of strengthening centralization of power. "Lun" and "Wang Lun" examine, from both the positive and negative aspects, the causes for the "survival, extinction,

prosperity and decline" of a state, and give them philosophical interpretations. "Lun Yüeh" calls on the ruler of a state to understand the origin of events and the relationship between name and reality, to recognize the inner causes of changes in things in order that "he may not lose the logic in thousands of undertakings and may not miss one single good policy in discussing world affairs." The last chapter "Ming Li" stresses the need to "take law as the determinant" and "law as the criterion" in an "examination of name and logic" and in "probing into logic by way of name" before returning to the question of "rule of law" for a summing up.

Judging by the above-mentioned content, "Ching Fa" has three salient features: One, it encourages farming and war; two, it emphasizes the rule of law; and three, it advocates unification.

"Ching Fa" gives extreme prominence to the idea of farming and war and positively calls for the development of agricultural production. The chapter "Chün Cheng" points out: "The foundation of man's existence is the land. The foundation of land is appropriate plowing, which must be done by people with sufficient time. And the people must exert and regulate their efforts." It regards agricultural production as "the foundation of man's existence," and advocates that "people must not be deprived of their time /for agricultural production/" and that "when the use of the people's strength is regulated, wealth will grow. When taxes are reasonable, people will become rich." It is only on such a basis that "the strength of the people can be used to the limit," that "the penal code is so clearly defined that no one dares to break it," and that "all orders shall be obeyed." Such is the "way to defend one's country and to win when war breaks out." Obviously, these views were consistent with the policies of farming and war adopted by Shang Yang during the reign of Duke Hsiao of Ch'in.

"Ching Fa" accords a very high estimation to the role and significance of the rule of law. It stresses: "Law is the basis for judging gain and loss, the straight and the curved." ("Tao Fa") "Law puts everything right. When a state is governed by law, it will not succumb to chaos." "A state is well governed when the ruler is impartial and unselfish and hands out rewards and punishments as promised." ("Chün Cheng") "Law" decides a state's success or failure, gain or loss; it is the criterion for distinguishing right from wrong, straight from curved. "The distinction between right and wrong is determined by law." ("Ming Li") A given law is the reflection of the will of a given class. "Law" as meant by the pre-Ch'in Legalists was a concentrated expression of the interests and will of the newly emerging landlord class. As political representatives of that class, they had consistently argued for reliance to be placed on the "rule of law" in exercising effective dictatorship over the restorationists among the slave-owners. In contrast, the Confucians, who represented the interests of the slave-owning aristocracy, opposed the "rule of law" and favored "rule of propriety" in an attempt to safeguard the hereditary privileges of the slave-owning aristocracy. Nor did the Taoists, who represented the interests of the middle and small slave-owners, approve of "rule of law," contending that "when law is upheld rigidly, robbers and thieves will thrive."(1) Thus, the different attitudes toward "law" mirror the basic antagonism between different classes in the matter of ideological and political line.

The call for the "rule of law" in "Ching Fa" is obviously advanced from the Legalist point of view.

"Ching Fa" also expresses the aspirations of the newly emerging landlord class for the realization of unification, and makes a summing up of the experiences of class struggle in this respect. It holds that it is only with the appearance of a political situation of unification in which "the ministers carry out their duties honestly without deceiving their ruler" and "the people lead a harmonious and happy life and serve their sovereign" that "a state can have a vast territory, a large population and a strong army and become invincible in the world." ("Liu Fen") "Ching Fa" fully affirms the justice of the war of unification, maintaining that "a state can be militarily strong when it adapts itself to the prevailing circumstances and punishes those who go against the logic of nature." ("Ssu Tu") This is diametrically opposed to the advocacy of Mencius and other representatives of the Confucian school who held that "those who are skillful in fighting deserve the highest punishment,"(2) nor does it agree with the Taoist advocacy that "a small state having a small population" "has no use for an army."(3) "Ching Fa" repeatedly emphasizes: The practice of the rule of law is the prerequisite for winning the war of unification, and when a state "clothes and feeds its people adequately and punishes the evil-doers" it can "send out an expeditionary force in seven years." This means that only by adhering to the line of rule of law for a few years can it "defeat the powerful enemies," ("Chün Cheng") win the victory in the war of unification, and accomplish the cause of unification. It can be seen that "Ching Fa" was written in the setting in which the various principalities were still in a stage of stalemate prior to the unification of the six states by Ch'in, and met the needs of the newly emerging landlord class in this period for developing the cause of unification.

Chairman Mao has said: "In class society everyone lives as a member of a particular class, and every kind of thinking, without exception, is stamped with the brand of a class." Any idea or school of thought invariably serves the interests of a particular class. The fact that, in exploring the causes of a state's survival or extinction, promoting agriculture and war, and calling for the "rule of law," "Ching Fa" sets its sight on founding a unified feudal country with centralized power shows that it falls into the ideological category of the newly emerging landlord class.

As this book has never been mentioned in the past, its writers and the years of writing have to be further investigated. But judging by a preliminary analysis of its ideological content, it might well be a work written after the Shang Yang reform. "Ching Fa" advocated that "for purposes of issuing orders, households should be linked up into units." ("Chün Cheng") This system was originated earlier; at the time of Duke Hsien of Ch'in, "a register of households was prepared linking them up into units."(4) By the time of the Shang Yang reform, this system was vigorously applied in the state of Ch'in. It might be due to Ch'in's influence that "Ching Fa" further proposed this institution. Although its description of the content of "law" is not so concrete as that by the

Legalists of the earlier period, "Ching Fa" takes a step further than the earlier Legalists in providing philosophical interpretations to the genesis of "law" and its systematic nature. But compared with the writings of Hsün K'uang and Han Fei, its understanding of the need to establish a unified feudal country of centralized power is still somewhat ambiguous. Judging by its ideological style, it should be a work standing between the writings of the earlier Legalists and those of Hsün K'uang and Han Fei.

(II)

It is noteworthy that in this book "Ching Fa" its tendency to take on the Taoist appearance and the Legalist essence is more noticeable. It is basically a Legalist work, but it also has a lot of Taoist ideological features. Such ideological traits of "Ching Fa" are the product of the class struggle in society as a whole, and particularly the struggle between the two lines on the ideological and political front, in the middle and final phases of the Warring States era.

During the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, major social upheavals issuing from the transition from the slave system to the feudal system caused the appearance of various kinds of ideas and schools of thought in the ideological domain, giving rise to the "hundred school contending" situation. With the beginning of the middle phase of the Warring States period, although the feudal relations of production had developed and the landlord class had seized power, yet the struggle for and against restoration between the newly emerging landlord class and the declining slave-owning aristocracy that had been overthrown was daily becoming more acute, with the class alignment becoming more and more apparent and violent divisions also occurring within the various schools of thought. The outstanding Legalist Hsün K'uang was, for one, a rebel of the Confucian school. Meanwhile, divisions also occurred among the Taoists who represented the middle and small slave-owners, with some turning into Legalists. The Taoist school prevailed mainly in the regions of Ch'i and Ch'u. Among the Taoist groups in Chihhsia in the state of Ch'i, apart from the group represented by Lao Tan and Huan Yüan, Sung Ping and Yin Wen were both Taoists and Nominalists and became allies of the Legalists. T'ien P'ien and Shen Tao transformed the Taoist theories and became Legalists. Shen Tao had "studied Taoism,"(5) held that "it is an important way to govern a state by having the people follow one ruler and let law dictate their behavior,"(6) and contended that "it is because of the existence of law that officials do not become nepotic, no one suffers from injustice, and peace prevails throughout the land."(7) His actual aim was the practice of the "rule of law." In the state of Ch'u, a person named Ho Kuan Tzu "first adhered to the Taoist doctrines but ended up following the school of form and name,"(8) and he too transformed himself from a Taoist into a Legalist.

In the violent social upheavals, not only had some people left the Taoist school, changed their stand and became Legalists, but some of the Legalists also absorbed the ideological material of the Taoists. Shen Pu-hai, who stressed "the art of government," was described as "holding the

Taoist outlook but practicing the code of the Nominalist school."(9) The famous book "Kuan Tzu" was chiefly a Legalist work of Ch'i during the Warring States period, but Taoist influence is quite visible. Hsün K'uang, who had taught in Chihhsia, also had connection with the Taoists, and particularly his outlook on the way of Heaven clearly reflected the influence of Sung Ping and Yin Wen. As for Han Fei, who synthesized the Legalist ideas, he was even more "fond of the Nominalist and Legalist learning, his views originating from Taoism."(10) He devoted serious attention to a study of "Lao Tzu," and in his two essays "Understanding Lao Tzu" and "Interpreting Lao Tzu," he absorbed some dialectical factors from "Lao Tzu" and positively transformed them into a theoretical weapon with which to defend the nascent feudal system and sharply refute the metaphysical theory of immutability and the doctrine of the golden mean upheld by the Confucians. He believed that "there are no constant rules to govern the existence and extinction, the life and death of things, thriving initially and withering later,"(11) thus basically disbelieving that there were any constant and unchangeable things.

We are thus faced with a seemingly rather contradictory phenomenon: Why is it that some ideological elements of the Taoist school which was idealistic and represented the slave-owning class could be utilized by the Legalists who represented the newly emerging landlord class?

We should first begin with an analysis of problems in class struggle. Since the late phase of the Spring and Autumn period, with the replacement of the slave system by the feudal system being an irresistible historical tide, the slave-owning class itself was not monolithic. In the ocurse of the momentous social changes when "mountains were flattened and deep ravines filled"(12), a large number of middle and small slave-owners were gradually "reduced to slaves."(13) Opposed to the ruling slave-owning aristocrats and discontented with their lot, they called for the maintenance of the backward and regressive social state of "a small state having a small population," a situation favorable to the middle and small slave-owners. Thus they became the oppositionists within the slave-owning class, and the Taoists were their ideological representatives. The Taoists, openly opposing the Confucians who represented the interests of the slave-owning aristocrats, declared that "propriety contributes to the loss of loyalty and faith and primarily to the appearance of chaos,"(14) thus revealing the hypocritical nature of "benevolence and righteousness" peddled by the Confucians. Confucius, "elegantly displaying the regulations of Wen and Wu,"(15) took King Wen, King Wu and Duke Chou as his idols. The Taoists countered him by bringing out Huang Ti /Yellow Emperor/ and Lao Tzu. To those restorationist maniacs "following the examples of early kings," this was what was meant by using your spear to attack your shield. It is noteworthy that Shang Yang, Shen Pu-hai and Han Fei were all full of praise for Huang Ti, holding that Huang Ti established "the order between the ruler and his subjects," "enforcing a system of punishments at home and going to war abroad."(16) The Legalists' affirmation of Huang Ti was not in order to maintain the phase of "a small state having a small population" as advocated by the Taoists but in order to oppose the regressive line of the Confucians and to push the reform line of the Legalist school.

Utilization and transformation of certain Taoist ideological elements by the Legalists reflected the fact that after the middle phase of the Warring States period the newly emerging landlord class no longer felt satisfied with advancing some concrete political views and measures and wanted to sum up and generalize the practical experience of its struggle on the philosophical plane in order to produce a more complete ideological weapon. It was with these political needs in mind that they turned their attention to certain ideological elements of the Taoist school which was opposed to the Confucian school and had a certain influence in society at that time. The Taoists countered and negated the Confucian theory of Heavenly mandate with objective idealism, but the concept "Tao" they proposed gave new revelation to the thinkers of the newly emerging landlord class.

"Ching Fa" begins with this sentence, "Tao breeds Fa," holding that "Tao" is invisible and intangible, but it determines and dominates the life, death, success or failure of all things and objects, and it also produces "Fa." It holds: "When those who uphold the Tao produce Fa, no one will dare to offend against them. Once Fa is established, no one dares to abolish it." ("Tao Fa") Although "Fa" is formulated by the ruler "upholding the Tao," it does not change according to his subjective wishes. No ruler can at random abolish or offend "Fa," or he will go against the "constant way" of heaven and earth. At that time, when a lot of Legalists began to talk about "Tao," they often mentioned "Tao and Fa" in the same breath. Hsün K'uang, too, stressed that the newly emerging landlord class must "unswervingly keep to the Tao and Fa and abide by its orders."(17) In such essays as "The Way of the Ruler" and "On Wielding Power," Han Fei also mentioned "Tao and Fa" in the same vein. He also pointed out: "The early kings took Tao as the constant way and Fa as the foundation," and "Tao and Fa are all embracing."(18) But for the Legalists, the concept "Tao" had been given materialist content. They looked upon "Tao" as the objective law governing the development of all things in the universe, and "Fa" as the concrete political expression of this objective law. "Tao" in actual politics is "Fa." "Although the sage can produce Fa, he cannot govern a state by abolishing it."(19) Thus, they took a step further and found a theoretical basis for the propagation and execution of the Legalist line.

The Legalists not only transformed the "Tao," but also drew on certain dialectical factors in the Taoist doctrines.

"Lao Tzu," completed in the Warring States period, is a military treatise. It "recorded the ways, ancient and contemporary, in which states prospered or perished, and dealt with fortunes and disasters."(20) From the rise and fall of states and the ascendancy and descendancy of classes caused by the victory or defeat in war, it summed up certain military rules. Instead of devoting more space to the study of military tactics, it put the emphasis on a discourse on strategy, raising the concrete application of troops to the level of strategic thinking and making a philosophical generalization. "The soft and the weak can defeat the tough and the strong"--this is a basic viewpoint of strategic thinking advanced in "Lao Tzu." (In the edition A of the silk book "Lao Tzu," it is stated that "weak states entering into an alliance can defeat the

strong," which means that if the weak and small states are united, they can defeat a powerful enemy.) The idea that the soft can overwhelm the tough and the weak can defeat the strong contains definite dialectical factors. "Ching Fa" also gives serious attention to such simple dialectics, thinking that "the tough who regard themselves as soft shall survive, and the soft who act as if they were tough can attack." ("Ming Li") "When a state promotes literature, it knows where it is going; when it arms itself, it is strong." ("Ssu Tu") "When a states begins with promoting literature and ends up by arming itself, this is the way of heaven and earth." ("Lun Yüeh") "When a state promotes literature and military might at the same time, other states will follow it." "When a ruler resorts to both civil and military means with prudence, he will be the guest of the world." ("Chün Cheng") What is discussed here as the dialectical relationship between the soft and the tough, literature and military might refers to the general laws of political and military struggles.
At the same time, "Ching Fa" also points out with special emphasis: "There being a limit to the four seasons is the logic of heaven and earth." ("Lun Yüeh") It believes that just as everything in the natural world has a "limit," so there is a "limit" in fighting a war or in handling domestic and foreign relations. "When the proper limits are observed, the state will be governed efficiently." ("Tao Fa") Owing to their different class stand, even though they saw the drastic changes in society, the Taoists, guided by objective idealism, were given to the despair of the declining classes and felt that they were incapable of doing anything in face of the momentous changes. As a result, they advocated passivity and inaction, and the dialectical factors were used to defend the declining "small state with a small population." In the case of the Legalists, however, they were full of confidence in themselves and looked forward to a bright future in the major social convulsions. "Ching Fa" says: "Those who are public-spirited and not selfish, who know what is happening without being bewildered shall rise and fight." ("Ming Li") They were positive and progressive in their mentality and rose up to fight for their goals. In discussing the mutual transformation of things, the book calls for attention to be paid to keeping proper "limits," thinking that if one exceeds the limit in doing things, things will be transformed in a direction unfavorable to oneself. "When one goes to extremes, one will suffer and decline from the height of one's power. For such is the way of heaven and the earth, the logic of man." ("Ssu Tu") Therefore, it says that one must "find out whether the trend is for or against him." ("Ssu Tu") One must "examine the origin of the happenings" and concretely "determine the causes of fortunes, misfortunes, death and life, rise and decay." ("Lun Yüeh) so that things may be transformed in a positive direction. This idea played a positive role in consolidating the centralization of power of the landlord class in the early days of the Han dynasty.

Man's social being determines his thinking. In class society, a new social idea formed is always a product of class struggle in society under the prevailing historical conditions, and always reflects the interests and demands of a particular class, which are the source of its emergence. At the same time, it is often produced on the basis of the practice of class struggle at the given time and by utilizing and transforming certain ideological data of predecessors, which are its flow.

Engels pointed out: "In every era philosophy, as a particular field in the division of work, invariably proceeds on the basis of the ideological data given it by its forerunners." The pre-Ch'in Legalists, as members of the school of thought of the newly emerging landlord class, advanced their own political views and founded their own philosophical and ideological systems precisely on the basis of the interests and needs of their own class and in consideration of the actual problems existing in the class struggle at their time. Certain assertions in the Taoist doctrines were used only as ideological data, which enlightened them in some ways and were utilized, transformed, given new meaning and absorbed into their system of ideas. Insofar as both the landlord class and the slave-owning class were exploiting classes, when the Legalists transformed certain ideological data of the Taoists, such transformation could not be thorough, and the result was that certain dross of Taoist thought was also brought into their system of ideas. This contradiction was beyond solution by any Legalist as a thinker of the landlord class.

(III)

Although Taoism was formed in the Warring States period, it was not vigorously promoted by the feudal ruling classes until early Han. If the political and ideological struggle during the Warring States period was directly manifested mainly as a struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools, the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools in early Han often took the form of opposition between the Taoist and Confucian ideologies. As it was stated, "those who study Lao Tzu keep away from Confucianism, while those who study Confucianism also spurn Lao Tzu."(21) Within the ruling group of the Han dynasty, the first to talk about Taoism was Ts'ao Ts'an during the era of Empress Lü. After succeeding Hsiao Ho as prime minister, he "did not change anything in the conduct of state affairs and confined himself to policies established by Hsiao Ho."(22) While practicing the Legalist line, he nevertheless hoisted the Taoist banner. Since then, those who revered Taoism included Ch'en P'ing, who took over from Ts'ao Ts'an as prime minister and Dowager Tou, wife of Emperor Wen of Han. The fact that this book "Ching Fa" was preserved in a tomb during the era of Emperor Wen together with the basic Taoist writings shows that it belonged to the category of the Taoist ideology and might possibly be a basic textbook circulating within the ruling classes in early Han.

For more than two thousand years, apart from the 5,000-character "Lao Tzu," no works of the Taoists had been passed down. What was the concrete content of the Taoist ideology in different historical periods? Why was it that while apparently carrying out the Legalist line, Ts'ao Ts'an, Ch'en P'ing and others during the reign of Empress Lü in early Han saw fit to hoist the Taoist banner? And what kind of position did Taoism occupy in the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist lines in the Han era? The discovery of "Ching Fa" and other ancient books has created favorable conditions for us in studying these questions.

While gaining increasingly wider acceptance in early Han, Taoism reached its peak in the reigns of Emperors Wen and Ching nearly 30 years after

Liu Pang seized power. Emperor Wen of Han, Liu Heng, "was fond of the teachings of the school of form and name,"(23) and he called for the rule of law, thinking that "a country can best be governed by law. Law can bring benefits to the people by prohibiting violence."(24) After he assumed power, he continued to push the Legalist line, but he was also fond of discussing Taoist teachings. His prime minister Ch'en P'ing "exerted himself in studying Taoism in his young days."(25) It was stated in "Treatise of Classics, History of Sui," "During the Han epoch, Ts'ao Ts'an was the first to talk about the Taoist doctrines. He was followed by Emperor Wen. Since then, the Taoist doctrines had gained a popular following."

"A given culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society." In early Han, particularly the Wen-Ching period, the wide acceptance of Taoism had its profound social and political reasons. At that time, the remnant forces of the big slave-owners represented by the old nobles of the six states had been considerably weakened, having been dealt continuous blows from the peasant uprisings in the last years of Ch'in and attacks from Liu Pang's troops. In the vast countryside, the old relations of production and old social order under the slave system had rapidly disintegrated, accompanied by the universal establishment of the natural economies under the feudal system. The newly emerging landlord class,which held ruling power, had need of stabilizing as quickly as possible the new relations of production and social order. At the same time, owing to a number of restorationist attempts by the Second Emperor of Ch'in, Chao Kao, Hsiang Yü all the way to the princes outside the royal family in early Han, social production had been gravely disrupted. "Big cities and famous capitals were deserted, and the households that remained behind could be numbered."(26) The Western Han dynasty too urgently needed a relatively stable environment in order to rapidly rehabilitate and develop the feudal economy. By the time of Emperoror Wen, princes within the royal family gradually grew in strength and became the representatives of the new splittist forces. In collusion with the restorationist forces of the slave-owners in industry and commerce, they posed an increasingly serious threat to the feudal central government. At that time, however, the feudal central government had not yet held its feet steadily, nor was its economic strength strong enough. It still needed time to consolidate its power before it could effectively solve these problems. By promoting the Taoist doctrines and singing loudly about "rule by inactivity," Emperor Wen had in fact wanted to eliminate the interference with his rule and, retreating in order to advance, more firmly upheld and implemented the Legalist line since Emperor Kao Tzu. This at that time was a positive step. The famous Legalist Li Chih of the Ming dynasty lauded Emperor Wen for "knowing the tactic of one step backward, and naturally he was able to stand on solid ground."(27) One proof of this can be obtained from an analysis of the content and features of "Ching Fa" popular during the time of Emperor Wen.

"Inactivity" as preached by the early Han Legalists was not the same as "inactivity" as advocated by the pre-Ch'in Taoists. "Inactivity" as first preached by the Taoist school meant that it was unnecessary and impossible to establish a new feudal ruling order; regression and returning

to the past were what they advocated. "Inactivity" as discussed by the Legalists was just the opposite in content. From the Legalist point of view, Han Fei once interpreted "inactivity" in the following way: "Being empty and inactive is inherent in the Tao," and "with each in his proper place, nothing need to be done in high places and at the lower levels."(28) If the ruler and his subjects could act according to the "law," then "inactivity" was possible. "Ching Fa" points out even more explicitly: "Law provides the basis for distinguishing between right and wrong. One should be devoid of desire, quiet and prudently submissive and take law as the criterion." ("Ming Li") Here, "being empty and inactive" meant that everything should be done with "law" as the criterion and without interference from any source.

"If resolute decisions are not taken where they should be taken, chaos will ensue." ("Conception" and "Military Affairs" in Shih Ta Ching) This is a phrase appearing repeatedly in the silk books unearthed this time. It purports to stress that in carrying out the "law," it is necessary to act resolutely and firmly, not hesitantly and indecisively; or the new feudal ruling order would be upset by non-"Legal" activities and the central government of the landlord class could not be consolidated. "Ching Fa" devotes considerable space to proving the relationship between action and inaction, doing nothing and doing something. It holds that "when the ruler and his subjects confine themselves to their own position, all will be quiet, and when the virtuous run the government, the right course will be adhered to." ("Ssu Tu") It says that "the people will be obedient when rules are strictly followed, whether things are done or not done." ("Chün Cheng") This suited the taste of the Han royal court in hoping for a stable feudal ruling order. After founding a unified Han dynasty, Liu Pang formulated a set of political institutions and policies and continued to push Ch'in Shih Huang's Legalist line. At the time of Emperor Hui, Ts'ao Ts'an had told him: "Emperor Kao (Liu Pang) and Hsiao Ho built the empire and made the laws and decrees clear. Now that Your Majesty are in charge of the country, may I, Ts'an, and others stick to our posts and follow all the established policies strictly?"(29) This clearly shows: The aim of "rule by inactivity" in the former period of Western Han was to continue to carry out Liu Pang's Legalist line and continue to carry out the "clearly defined" "laws and decrees" in order to attain the purpose of "following all the established policies strictly."

During this said period, "Dowager Tou likes the sayings of Huang Ti and Lao Tzu. Emperor Ching and the Tous are obliged to read 'Lao Tzu,' and respect its teachings."(30) How did Dowager Tou come to "like the sayings of Huang and Lao?" A well-known debate between a Taoist and Yüan Ku-sheng at that time might well illustrate this. The Taoist said: "The hat may be worn, it must be put on the head; the clogs may be new, they must be worn by the feet."(31) This obviously was a Legalist assertion calling for stronger centralized power. Yüan Ku-sheng, being a Confucian scholar, described the military expeditions of King T'ang and King Wu as based on "Heavenly mandate,"(32) with the actual object of creating public opinion for the then local splittist forces to put up armed resistance against the central government. It can be seen that it was the Confucians who in early Han opposed "rule by inactivity" and hoped for a change in the political situation. No wonder that Dowager Tou was furious and on

some pretext threw Yüan into a ring of wild boars and let him fight with them. What was on the surface a struggle between the Confucian and Taoist schools was in fact still a struggle between the Confucian and Legalist schools. Up to the time of Emperor Wu of Han, the Legalist Chi An, Commander of the East Sea, also "studied the Taoist concepts and carried out his administration by inactivity. He made the major decisions and was not harsh on small matters."(33) Commenting on him,Wang Fu-chih said: "He was merely taking the advice of Ts'ao Ts'an."(34) This might be said to be a left-over from the "Wen-Ching rule." But Chi An was a resolute and decisive man highly critical of those who honored Confucianism and opposed Legalism. Yet in doing things he "followed the Taoist concepts." This shows that "decisiveness" and "inactivity" were unified under those particular historical conditions. The Taoist concepts widely accepted in early Han had to a certain extent lost the original features of Taoism and became a cloak for Legalism under particular historical circumstances. After Emperor Wu of Han ascended to the throne, objective conditions had changed in various respects, and although he continued to pursue the Legalist line, he no longer put on the cloak of the Taoist ideology.

In short, the popularity of the Taoist ideology in early Han was entirely determined by the need of the landlord class at that time for a stable political situation. It lay the foundation for a phase of substantial development under Emperor Wu, Liu Ch'e. However, the fact that Taoism was honored eventually also reflected the passive aspect of the newly emerging landlord class. The evolution of the Legalist thinking with its clearcut banner during the era of Ch'in Shih Huang to the Huang-Lao thinking which was Taoist in appearance and Legalist in substance in Western Han showed that the landlord class was gradually losing its revolutionary character. At this time, although the landlord class still adhered to the Legalist line, it was far less vigorous and militant than it was during the times of Shang Yang, Han Fei and Ch'in Shih Huang.

As far as the landlord class and all other exploiting classes are concerned, the seizure of power implies that they begin to turn from revolutionary to conservative. But the proletariat is different, for its ultimate goal is to abolish classes and realize communism. For it, the seizure of power does not mean the end of the revolution but the first step in the 10,000-li long march, a new starting point for continuing the revolution. We insist on the unity of the theory of continuous revolution with the theory of development of the revolution by stages. Continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat absolutely does not mean that "victory is complete by one campaign," but that there are stages for the revolution. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, is prolonged and tortuous and sometimes may be very acute. Such a struggle always develops in a devious way like high and low tides and must go through a fairly long historical period. The more penetratingly the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism develops, the more consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes, and the more Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and basic policy for correctly handling the two different types of contradictions are grasped by people in their millions,

the greater will be stability and unity. Even when the class struggle is at a "low ebb," the proletariat is not "quiet and inactive," it is not conservative, still less regressive. Instead, it presses ahead with victory in the course of struggle to achieve "a better leap" on the basis of consolidating the achievements of the revolution at the preceding stage, so that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be more solid and the revolutionary cause of the proletariat more vigorous. In studying the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle, we do not make a metaphysical comparison between the past and present, but apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to sum up the historical experience of class struggle, heighten our consciousness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and better wage the great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such is our basic purpose in studying the Confucian-Legalist struggle. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our revolutionary goal must and can be attained.

*

Notes:

(1) (3) (14) Popular edition of "Lao Tzu" and silk book "Lao Tzu"

(2) "Li Lou Part I, Mencius"

(4) "Ch'in Shih Huang, Historical Records"

(5) "Mencius and Hsün Ch'ing, Historical Records"

(6) "Collection of Literary Essays (I-wen Lei-chü)," Vol. 54

(7) "The Ruler and His Subjects, Shen Tzu"

(8) Preface to "Ho Kuan Tzu"

(9) (10) (21) "Lao Tzu and Han Fei, Historical Records"

(11) "Understanding Lao Tzu, Han Fei Tzu"

(12) "Around October, Hsiao Ya, Mao Poems"

(13) "3rd Year's Reign of Duke Chao, Tso Commentary"

(15) "The Golden Mean, Notes on Propriety"

(16) "Strategy, Book of Lord Shang"

(17) "Rectification of Names, Hsün Tzu"

(18) "Hidden Evils, Han Fei Tzu"

(19) "The Law, Kuan Tzu"

(20) "Treatise of Literature and Art, History of Han"

(22) (29) "Prime Minister Ts'ao Ts'an, Historical Records"

(23) (31) (32) "The Confucian Scholars, Historical Records"

(24) "Hsiao Wen, Historical Records"

(25) "Prime Minister Ch'en P'ing, Historical Records"

(26) "List of Meritorous Ministers from Emperor Kao to Emperor Hui, History of Han"

(27) Li Chih, "Emperor Hsiao Wen, Chronicles, Tsang Shu"

(28) "On Wielding Power, Han Fei Tzu"

(30) "Wives' Families, History of Han"

(33) "Chi An and Cheng Tang-shih, Historical Records"

(34) Wang Fu-chih, "Emperor Wu, Read the General Outline History (Tu T'ung Chien Lun)"

* * *

Run Agriculture in Line with Chairman Mao's Thinking

by

Ko Ching (葛靜)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975)

How to carry out socialist revolution and construction successfully in the countryside and promote the development of agricultural production with greater, faster, better and more economical results in a country like ours with the rural population predominating is an important question which we should constantly study and earnestly solve. In many instances, the progress of rural work has demonstrated that where the leading comrades adhere to the basic line and various general and specific policies formulated by Chairman Mao for our Party, and run agriculture in strict accordance with Chairman Mao's thinking, the socialist enthusiasm of local cadres and the masses and their spirit in fighting the elements will soar, the mass movement to learn from Tachai will thrive, and agricultural production will develop fast and on a large scale. We should seriously sum up experience in this respect and continue to raise our consciousness in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor and arranging the national economic plan in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry has been a policy Chairman Mao has consistently advocated, a basic experience in building a socialist economy independently and with initiative in our own hands. It is of universal significance as it reflects the objective laws of our country's socialist construction. Marx said: "The number of workers engaged in processing industry, etc., and completely divorced from agriculture (or 'free hands' as Stuart calls them) depends on the amount of excess of farm products produced by agricultural laborers over and above their own consumption needs." Grain and other agricultural and subsidiary products are not only the basic means of subsistence on which mankind depends for existence, but also are essential to industry. Only when agriculture is developed is it possible to provide industry with grain, subsidiary foodstuffs, raw materials and labor power, and to open up a broader market and accumulate more funds for industry. In this sense, the scale and speed of agricultural development determines those of industrial development. The development of agriculture promotes the development of light industry; the development of agriculture and light industry, in turn, promotes the development of heavy industry. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, corresponding development and mutual promotion of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry will make it possible to build a strong material foundation for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

From our own experience, we are clear about such importance of agriculture to the national economy as a whole. Events since the liberation prove that things go well in a year of bumper farm harvest. This has become a law. It is true for the country as a whole as it is for a province or region. It is, therefore, wrong to look upon the work of developing agriculture as a task for agricultural departments and thus pay little attention to it, or else to look upon it as no more important

than other economic work and thus distribute manpower in an equalitarian way. To run agriculture in line with Chairman Mao's thinking requires us to grasp the work of developing agriculture as a fundamental task of developing the national economy. Consequently, in mapping out plans, performing tasks, in discussing problems and in making arrangements for manpower and material supplies, first priority should be given to agriculture, and the task of developing agriculture should be put in the first place. When making arrangements for all other economic work, we must take into consideration the needs and possibilities of agriculture. While fully arousing the socialist enthusiasm of the peasants, the greatest efforts should be made wherever possible to support socialist revolution and construction in the countryside and support the collective economy of the people's communes. Since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution, Shihchiachuang prefecture of Hopei province has paid constant attention to overcoming erroneous thinking in this respect. It has allocated about 70 percent of available funds under prefectural and county control for the development of agriculture. Keeping in mind the need to run industry to serve and support agriculture, this prefecture has actively developed industries in support of agriculture with emphasis on small iron and steel industry, small coal mining industry, small chemical fertilizer industry, small cement industry and small machine-building industry. As a result, irrigation and drainage, wheat threshing, processing and transport of farm produce and sideline products and plant protection throughout the prefecture have achieved mechanization or semi-mechanization, thereby promoting the development of agricultural production. In 1974, the average grain output per mow in the whole prefecture exceeded 730 catties; noticeable achievements were also made in forestry, animal husbandry and sideline production. This year, the average per-mow wheat output throughout the prefecture is expected to exceed 400 catties. A bumper harvest in agriculture will not only increase the income and grain reserves of the state, the collectives and individual commune members, raise the people's living standard and further consolidate the socialist position in the countryside, but will also promote the development of industry, communications and other socialist construction projects.

Chairman Mao has said: "The condition of the peasantry has a great bearing on the development of the economy and the consolidation of political power in our country." Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we must whip up the socialist enthusiasm of the peasants, particularly the poor and lower-middle peasants, and quicken the tempo in socialist construction and socialist revolution in the countryside. This is important in strengthening the overall dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. Under the leadership of the Party, millions and millions of peasants have adhered to the socialist path, criticized the capitalist tendencies, carried out farming for the sake of the revolution, and worked hard to develop the great cause and win bumper harvests. While trying to transform the natural conditions, they have vigorously changed their old habits and ideas inherited from the old society. This is important in creating the material and spiritual conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. We must try to achieve such a splendid goal and take into consideration our policy: "Be prepared against war, be

prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people." We must "earnestly improve our leadership over rural work," foster lofty ambitions, and fully arouse the cadres and masses to fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in all rural areas.

"The socialist road is the only path for the development of China's agriculture." To run agriculture in line with Chairman Mao's thinking, it is necessary to firmly grasp the struggle between the two lines in the countryside and to adhere to the socialist orientation. Our socialist society has emerged from the old society, and is thus in every respect still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society. In this society, the force of habit of small production and bourgeois rights still exist. The commodity system, distribution according to work and exchange by means of money cannot be abolished for a fairly long time. This constitutes the soil and conditions for breeding capitalism and the bourgeoisie. All of this will inevitably corrode the thinking of some people and make a number of people with weak revolutionary will leave the socialist road to take the evil path of capitalism, or even degenerate and become new bourgeois elements. Therefore, the struggle between the two classes and the two roads in the countryside has not ended after the basic completion of the transformation of the system of ownership. It will still take a fairly long time to transform that part of the system of ownership which has not been transformed. As for the part which has been transformed, there still exists the possibility of capitalist restoration and regression, and we must continue to forge ahead. On some issues in collective economy, such as crop growing, labor allocation, and marketing and distribution of products, there still exists the question of what line we must implement and which path we must take. Only by firmly grasping the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines as the key link will it be possible for us to get hold of the key to the development of agriculture. Without grasping this key link, we cannot run socialist agriculture well, but may slip onto the evil capitalist path.

To strengthen ideological and political work in the countryside in close connection with the actual conditions of the struggle between the two roads, to conduct education on ideology and political line among the peasants, and to arouse them to struggle against the capitalist tendencies--this is the fundamental guarantee in promoting agricultural production in the socialist direction. A great deal of work has been done in this respect. The enthusiasm of the masses for socialism has been greatly heightened. Agricultural production is on the increase. The collective economy is stronger and the socialist positions in the rural areas are more consolidated than ever before. We must keep on doing this, and so we must carry out socialist education constantly and criticize capitalist tendencies repeatedly. To be afraid of mobilizing the masses to criticize capitalist tendencies, to "keep one eye open and the other closed," is an idea of the golden mean which is incompatible with the name of communists and revolutionary cadres. We communists are the ones to wage class struggle and build socialism. Therefore, the correct attitude that we communists and revolutionary cadres must adopt is to raise our awareness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the

proletariat, go among the masses to step up investigation and study, pay attention to the actual problems in the struggle between the two roads, and arouse the masses to solve them one by one in line with the Party's line, principles and policies.

While criticizing capitalism, it is also wholly necessary to actively encourage and support the planned development of a diversified economy by communes and production brigades in the rural areas in accordance with the policy of "taking grain as the key link and insuring an all-round development," to encourage and support the development of collective sideline production, animal husbandry and other enterprises, which are favorable to promoting socialism and agricultural production, in the light of needs and possibilities, through self-reliance and in a manner appropriate to local conditions so as to strengthen the socialist collective economy. The more deeply we criticize capitalist tendencies, the greater will be the development of our collective economy. The greater the development of our collective economy, the smaller will be the market for capitalist tendencies. This has been borne out by the practice of the masses. All enterprises which are beneficial to the state, the collective and commune members and which can be undertaken where conditions exist should be built by forces organized by the collective and run in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies.

Experience in many places has shown that the key to whether we can effectively criticize capitalism and keep to socialism lies in whether we understand the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and whether we are conscious of the struggle between the two lines. If we do not thoroughly understand the theory, we may follow an erroneous line, lose our direction in the actual struggle and take the wrong road. In this respect, the comrades in Chao county, Hopei province, have gained a lesson. For a period in the past, due to their lack of understanding of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, they could not distinguish between correct and erroneous lines and did not try to contain the capitalist tendencies in free planting. As a result, both grain and cotton output dropped. Later, in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, they heightened their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines through reading and studying. The leadership of the county mobilized the cadres and masses to criticize capitalist tendencies, corrected the orientation and road in developing agriculture and promoted production. In 1974, the average per-mow yield of the 510,000 mow of land sown to grain crops exceeded 690 catties, an increase of over 190 catties compared with 1973. The total grain output in that year also rose by more than 98.4 million catties over the previous year. Their experience showed that in order to set the socialist orientation right, it is necessary to "read some more Marxist-Leninist works" in compliance with Chairman Mao's teaching. It is especially important for leading comrades to take the lead in studying well. This is because only in this way can they persist in educating the cadres on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party's basic line and build up the leading groups at all levels well. As long as we cadres can thoroughly understand

the question of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie by combining theory with practice and firmly bear in mind the Party's basic line, we shall have a norm in distinguishing between correct and erroneous orientation and between right and wrong and will not mistake capitalist stuff for socialist things. In this way, we shall be able to enthusiastically support the socialist new things, conscientiously implement the Party's policies, impose necessary restrictions on bourgeois rights and lead the masses to go on advancing along the socialist road.

Chairman Mao points out: "On what basis should our policy rest? It should rest on our own strength, and that means regeneration through one's own efforts." Practice has told us that relying on the masses and our own efforts is the source of our strength in developing socialist agriculture. The poor and lower-middle peasants have said it well: Socialism does not drop from the skies but is achieved through self-reliance according to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. In order to build up the socialist new countryside, we must adhere to the policy of self-reliance. How can we carry out the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture in a prefecture or unit? How can we transform the natural conditions by applying the "Eight-point Charter for Agriculture"? What project shall we implement first in farmland capital construction and what later? How can we realize agricultural mechanization? All these questions must be fully discussed by the masses, and we should make practical plans and do things one by one through organized mass strength. A host of facts indicate that so long as we pay full attention to the main contradictions in agricultural production under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, rely on the masses and our own efforts, and make long-range plans and short-term arrangements, we will certainly be able to solve one or two major problems within a given period. If we do this continuously and gradually, month after month and year after year, it will not take long to bring about changes, lay a good foundation in developing farmland capital construction and agrotechnical innovations, and promote agricultural production in both depth and breadth.

On what should we base our efforts? Our efforts should rest on the masses. Natural and material conditions are important factors in developing agriculture and winning high yields of crops; however, they are not the decisive factors. It is men who play the decisive role. "Under the leadership of the Communist Party, we can perform all kinds of miracles in the world so long as we have men." Huolu county is located at the foot of the east of the Taihang Mountains, where the water shortage throughout the year creates unfavorable conditions for the development of agriculture. Could the people there rely on themselves in removing rocks and opening up mountains and building canals to bring in water? Some people said that they lacked funds, materials and technology and that therefore it was too difficult to build canals and draw water. They thought it was best to let the higher authorities support them. But the comrades of that county did not wait. They struggled to overcome their difficulties. They took the initiative to coordinate with two neighboring counties, Pingshan and Yuanshih, and launched a people's war to build irrigation canals. While insuring the fulfillment of the production plan for the current year, they formed

special teams to work on the irrigation project on a time-available basis depending on the farming operation. They mobilized all lines of business to vigorously support the project. They prepared funds by themselves, used locally available materials and relied on indigenous experts who had acquired technical knowhow through practice. In three years and more, they dug 7 tunnels, built 17 water channels and 2 siphons, erected 422 coffer dams and bridges, and built a trunk canal 200 li long, traversing through more than 20 hilltops and more than 50 gullies, thus bringing water to over 443,000 mow of dry hilly land and slopes. In 1974, the county reaped an average per-mow yield of more than 800 catties of grain, surpassing the standard set for areas south of the Yangtze River. This once again confirms the great truth pointed out by Chairman Mao long ago: "Social wealth is created by the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. If they take their destiny into their own hands, follow a Marxist-Leninist line and take an active attitude in solving problems instead of evading them, there will be no difficulty in the world which they cannot overcome."

An important aspect of the struggle between the two lines is whether we should rely on the masses and on our own efforts or stretch our hands upward and rely on external aid. We do not reject foreign aid, but we cannot be dependent upon it. This is Chairman Mao's consistent thinking. In the years of revolutionary wars, we relied on the strength of the army and people and won victories. Since liberation, we have won victories in socialist revolution and construction by relying on the broad masses, and we have established a socialist economy characterized by independence and self-determination. Relying on the masses and our own efforts is a reliable guarantee that we will be invincible forever. But people like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao energetically peddled the "slavish philosophy" of worshiping things foreign, interfered with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and sabotaged the principles of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, and building our country through diligence and thrift. They attempted to pull us back to the beaten track of a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. We must continue to criticize the revisionist line. "We must clear away all ideas among our cadres of winning easy victories through good luck, without hard and bitter struggle, without sweat and blood." We must unswervingly have faith in and rely on the masses. We must persist in self-reliance and arduous struggle. This will enable our socialist agriculture to develop with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

* * *

The Fundamental Question in Doing a Good Job in Iron and Steel Production Is the Line

by

Chang Ti (章 迪)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975)

The situation is excellent on our country's industrial front under the guidance of Chairman Mao's instruction on theory. Workers and staff members in the iron and steel industry have profoundly studied the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus further strengthening their revolutionary unity and raising their political consciousness. As a result, their enthusiasm for revolution and socialism has risen steadily. Many iron and steel enterprises have scored new achievements in grasping revolution and promoting production.

The iron and steel industry is the most important basic industry. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: In developing industry we must take steel as the key link. "Grain and steel--with these, everything is easier." Only when the iron and steel industry develops can we give full play to the role of industry as the leading factor and thereby promote the development of all industries and all sectors of the national economy. Since the founding of the PRC, the iron and steel industry in our country has developed fairly rapidly. Particularly since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution, the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao has been penetratingly criticized, and the workers and staff members in the iron and steel industry have adhered to the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and carried out the mass movement to "learn from Tach'ing in industry." Relying on their own efforts and working hard, they have achieved new levels in quantity, quality and variety of steel products. This shows that there is a fairly great potential for increasing output. We should conscientiously sum up our experiences, go all out, and make the most vigorous effort to produce more iron and steel. In the current situation, such effort is necessary in view of the need to strengthen preparedness against war and consolidate our national defense as well as the need to develop the national economy, further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and better support the world's peoples in their revolutionary struggles.

The most fundamental thing in improving iron and steel production is to implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and to bring the mass socialist enthusiasm into full play. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." In developing the iron and steel industry, as in developing all other revolutionary undertakings, it is essential to grasp the line as the key link, earnestly implement the Party's basic line and proletarian policies, and guide steel with the "key link." Only thus can we achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing iron and steel production. The history of the development of the iron and steel industry in our country over the past 2 decades and more has time and again borne

out this point. In the initial post-liberation period, our iron and steel industry began to be built on the ruins caused by prolonged imperialist aggression and sabotage by the Kuomintang reactionaries. In 1958, following major victories won in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological front, people throughout the country, rising with greater vigor, launched a large-scale mass movement to produce iron and steel in a big way under the guidance of the Party's general line of "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism." Thus, iron and steel production developed by leaps and bounds. In March, 1960, after scientifically summing up the experience of socialist revolution and construction, Chairman Mao personally endorsed the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company." His note endorsing it illuminated the road of industrial development in our country and inspired and armed the workers. However, due to interference and sabotage by the revisionist line, setbacks were sustained in the development of the iron and steel industry for a time. During the great cultural revolution, the revisionist line was penetratingly criticized, many people were awakened, and new development was made in the iron and steel industry again.

The practice of struggle shows that the iron and steel industry in our country has not developed in calm and quiet waters. It has been closely bound up with class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. Only by firmly implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and making continuous efforts to overcome interference by the revisionist line can we insure continuous development of iron and steel production.

In adhering to the correct line, all industrial enterprises, including iron and steel enterprises, must firmly grasp the basic question of exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. At present, there is a special need to conscientiously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, take the Party's basic line as the key link, firmly follow the socialist road, and penetratingly criticize revisionism, capitalist tendencies and the concept of bourgeois right, so as to insure that enterprise leadership is really in the hands of Marxists and the masses of workers.

The practice of some iron and steel enterprises over the past few years shows that where the mass movement to study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's works has been carried out in a comparatively thoroughgoing way and conscientious action has been taken in applying the Party's basic line in guiding revolution and production in enterprises and in strengthening the dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all aspects, a vigorous situation will appear. Otherwise, revisionism and bourgeois ideas may be rampant, the revolutionary unity of the workers may be adversely affected, their enthusiasm for revolution and production may not be brought into full play and production and construction may remain stagnant. To accelerate the development of the iron and steel industry, therefore, we should, with the question of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in mind, conscientiously examine and review the following

questions by summing up experience in the current study movement: whether or not our iron and steel enterprises have followed the correct ideological and political line; whether or not the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat has really been developed; whether or not the masses have been fully aroused; whether or not a strong core of leadership has been built; whether or not bourgeois factionalism has been overcome; whether or not the Party's policies have been conscientiously implemented; and whether or not hard blows have been dealt to the class enemies carrying out sabotage activities. In a word, we should find out whether or not the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat has been truly fulfilled down to the grassroots level. By so doing, we will be able to make a concrete analysis of actual conditions to discover major problems in implementing the line and policies in our own units. We should then concentrate our efforts on solving these problems, and we will be able to better promote production with revolution and turn the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a powerful motive force to accelerate the development of iron and steel production.

The key to grasping the line well lies in raising the awareness of the leading groups of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and in enhancing their initiative to implement the Party's basic line. Some comrades who have incorrect ideas, when it comes to studying and solving problems in work and production in enterprises, often pay attention to external conditions and objective influence without seeing internal problems in work which are covered up by external conditions. Iron and steel production is not carried out in isolation. An enterprise does not do its work on a lonely island; it is always closely connected with all kinds of external conditions. To do a good job in production, it is necessary to conscientiously solve, one by one, all problems created by external conditions. However, this is not the major aspect of the issue. "External causes are the condition of change, while internal causes are the basis of change. External causes become operative through internal causes." It is wrong to stress external conditions without exerting effort to study, analyze and solve problems related to the implementation of the line in enterprises. Some units were originally backward in production, and also faced many external difficulties. However, in solving these problems, the leadership in these units grasped the key issue of following the correct ideological and political line, studied and implemented the series of instructions issued by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, and analyzed the existing problems in the enterprises from the plane of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. It then mobilized the masses of workers to find out the shortcomings, expose contradictions and transform them. As a result, it strengthened revolutionary unity and upheld proletarian uprightness, and production rose rapidly. In contrast, some other units one-sidedly stressed external influence and looked upward for help; even if their external conditions improved, their passive position remained unchanged.

The above-mentioned conditions show that only by correctly understanding and dealing with the relations between the internal problems of the enterprises and the external conditions and by raising the awareness of the leading groups in grasping major issues and the line, will it be

possible for them to do a still better job in implementing the Party's basic line and policies and in carrying out iron and steel production. Therefore, we must pay full attention to the building of the leading groups in enterprises, striving to build the leading group of every iron and steel enterprise into a strong militant headquarters with high awareness of the struggle between the two lines and solid unity. Only such a leading group is able to conscientiously implement the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production" and dare to struggle against revisionism, capitalist tendencies and all unhealthy trends which run counter to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Only such a leading group will be good at maintaining close ties with the masses and consciously accept supervision by the masses. Only with such a leading group can we continue to expose contradictions on the road of advance and solve them and to fully develop the enthusiasm of the workers for socialism, so that leadership will really be in the hands of the proletariat.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "To fully develop the iron and steel industry, it is necessary to launch a mass movement. We must develop the mass movement in all our work. We will never succeed without the mass movement." Fully realizing their glorious tasks, the steel workers have earnestly called for boosting iron and steel production so as to satisfy the needs in the development of the national economy. Whether we can trust and rely on the masses, strengthen revolutionary unity among them, and bring into full play all the positive factors among them is also an important question in implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the enterprises. One of the vital conditions for the healthy development of the mass movement is to have solid unity among the revolutionary masses themselves. With everyone united for the common goal of strengthening and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we can surmount all difficulties and create conditions for fulfilling and overfulfilling the tasks given us by the state. Therefore, in the current movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must organize the masses to discuss the current state of affairs, the line, the general situation as a whole, the Party spirit and matters concerning unity and discipline so that all the comrades will fully realize the pressing need to increase iron and steel production and the importance of fighting in unity. So long as we proceed from the common desire to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, we will be able to further understand the harmful and corrosive effects of bourgeois factionalism and the fact that bourgeois factionalism is detrimental to the general situation and to the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. For this reason, we must continue to roundly criticize the crimes of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique in trying to split the Party and the working class, incessantly carry out education on ideology and political line and on the Party spirit of the proletariat, and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions. We must implement the Party's policy, arm ourselves with the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and promote and strengthen revolutionary unity.

Chairman Mao points out: "Management is also a form of socialist education." We must improve socialist enterprise management in accordance with this teaching of Chairman Mao's. Socialist enterprise

management reflects the relations between men. Closely related to the line to be followed, it has great effects on production. Furthermore, if we do not pay attention to it, we would open the doors for capitalist activities. Some comrades have not fully realized the problems in this respect, so they have not drawn a clear line of demarcation between socialist enterprise management and the practice of "controlling, restricting and repressing" the workers and have not taken the initiative in their work. Or they are not good at following the mass line and at relying on the masses to strengthen management, set up and improve rational rules and regulations. In this respect we have to conscientiously sum up the experience and solve the problems step by step. At the same time, we must also encourage the leadership at all levels to continue to go deep into reality, conduct investigation and study, and try to strengthen the weak links in production in a down-to-earth manner. Particular attention must be paid to mining and the maintenance work for production facilities so as to create favorable conditions for the development of iron and steel production.

To do a good job in increasing iron and steel production involves the whole situation and the material foundation for the consolidation of China's dictatorship of the proletariat. People throughout the country have great hope for iron and steel production. The workers and staff on the iron and steel front are charged with a glorious yet arduous task. So long as we conscientiously implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and, under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, fully arouse the masses to maintain and develop "the initiative, revolutionary enthusiasm and the daring, death-defying spirit we displayed in the revolutionary war years," we will certainly be able to bring about a still greater development in China's iron and steel industry.

* * *

Pay Attention to Developing Light Industry

by

Chung Ch'eng (钟 成)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975)

Since the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution, with the extremely great socialist enthusiasm of the cadres and the masses of workers brought into full play, China's light industry has developed rapidly under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on the basis of good harvests 13 years running. The increase in gross output value topped the total increase for the 17 years before the cultural revolution started. At the same time, the remarkable growth in the purchasing power in China's towns and countryside, particularly in the countryside, has made still higher demands on light industry in regard to quantity, quality, variety and design. The development of foreign trade also calls for greater supplies from light industry. We should, motivated by the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, still more properly carry out the policy of "agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor," arrange national economic plans in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, and develop light industry faster on the basis of developing agriculture.

The great leader Chairman Mao, in expounding the road for China's industrialization, stated: "It must be affirmed that heavy industry is the core of China's economic construction. At the same time, full attention must be paid to the development of agriculture and light industry." He also pointed out: "The entire national economy will benefit if we can achieve an even greater growth in our agriculture and thus induce a correspondingly greater development of light industry." Facts prove that the policy mapped out by Chairman Mao reflects the inner connection of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and is entirely correct. It is wrong to do as other countries say and to ignore this directive of Chairman Mao's. The growth of light industry provides favorable conditions for the sustained increase of agricultural and subsidiary production, especially production of industrial crops, expands the collective economy of the rural people's communes, and speeds up the process of mechanization of farming. It insures that more agricultural and sideline products can be processed into consumer goods for wider use so as to meet the people's needs both in town and countryside; and can provide a big accumulation of funds for building heavy industry so as to promote the development of the national economy as a whole. This question is being understood by an increasing number of people.

The development of light industry is important both as a political and economic question. The relations between industry and agriculture mirror those between the two big classes of workers and peasants. The overwhelming majority of China's farm products are produced by the collective economy while a small part is produced by individuals. After selling a part of their products to the state as commodities, the collective economy and peasants will use the money to purchase industrial goods, a considerable part of which are light industrial products. The

countryside provides the biggest market. As agriculture develops, more industrial goods will be needed. However, there the struggle between the two classes and two roads is very acute. Where there is a commodity system and exchange through money, there is soil engendering bourgeois elements. If the commercial front in the countryside is not taken by socialism, it will surely be taken by capitalism. As light industry grows and more and better light industrial products reach the rural markets through the channels of the state commercial departments and the supply and marketing cooperatives in exchange with the peasants for commodity grain, raw materials for industry and other agricultural sideline products not only does the socialist exchange of goods between town and countryside grow, but the socialist position on the commercial front can be consolidated and expanded, the capitalist tendencies checked, the worker-peasant alliance strengthened and the dictatorship of the proletariat consolidated. We should see the development of light industry from this plane and keep to the Party's basic line. Basing our national economic plan in the sequence of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry is a long strategic principle and not at all a temporary measure. It is wrong for some comrades to think that light industrial production is of "low priority."

The line is the key link; once it is grasped, everything falls into place." In order to run light industry well revolution must be grasped and the ideological and political line adjusted as a matter of fundamental importance. Facts prove that wherever the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship is carried out properly and the revolution situation is good, industrial and agricultural production rises rapidly, and the economic situation also thrives. While studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory, cadres and the masses in many light industrial enterprises have been striving, on the basis of linking theory with practice, to make clear the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, criticizing revisionism, capitalist tendencies and the idea of bourgeois right. They have enhanced their consciousness of keeping to the Party's basic line and gone in for socialism in a vigorous way. A dynamic situation has appeared both in revolution and production. Through studying theory, they have further recognized Lin Piao's crimes in trying to split the Party, the revolutionary ranks and the working class, enhanced their consciousness of implementing the various proletarian policies of the Party, and promoted stability and unity. Through studying theory, they have criticized the doctrines of trailing behind at a snail's pace and slavish compradore philosophy peddled by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. As a result, the revolutionary spirit of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts has been strengthened and technical skills have been improved. In short, if the line is correct, revolution will go well, the socialist enthusiasm of the people will be mobilized, all difficulties will be overcome, and wonders on the earth can also be performed.

In the historical period of socialism the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines is long and complex. At the moment,

keeping to the socialist road and criticizing capitalist tendencies is still a serious problem in economic work. Since light industry produces commodities, there is a question of orientation and road for production, business operations and planning. The question whether we should adhere to the socialist orientation and place proletarian politics in command or depart from the socialist orientation and put profit in command must be settled properly. Some of our enterprises are still having the wrong idea of onesidedly pursuing output value, profit and tonnage in disregard for variety and quality. Mistakenly they tend to produce only those "famed and profitable" products and not those products such as pans, bowls, cisterns and basins which are closely related to the daily life of workers and peasants. These practices are all against the socialist orientation. If they do badly, they will provide the ground for capitalist activities, extend bourgeois right, or even degenerate and change their character. We must seriously study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, grasp well the class struggle in the political and economic spheres, continue to raise the awareness of cadres and the masses in the line struggle, and adjust the socialist orientation of enterprises.

Initiative by both the central authorities and the localities and the principle "let the localities undertake more work under unified central planning" must be brought into play in developing light industry. Light industrial products in general should be produced according to local conditions and gradually meet local needs, the exception being those which have to be distributed by state coordination to areas short of them because of limitations in raw material resources and the industrial and technical level. We will achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building industry by bringing into play the initiative of the localities combining big, medium and small plants and simultaneously using modern and indigenous methods of production. This not only makes rational use of local resources but, more important, it implements the strategic principle "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people." However, raising the level of local self-sufficiency in light industrial products should not be set against rational inter-regional allocation and exchange of raw materials and commodities in a unified manner. In running light industry, localities should be encouraged to try to meet local needs and, at the same time, to consider how to develop their good points so as to contribute to the whole country.

As a socialist country, China develops her national economy in a proportionate and planned way. It is necessary to handle correctly the relations between the part and the whole in developing production. Since the cultural revolution, some areas have stressed the development of certain light industries on the basis of their local raw material resources, natural conditions and technical foundations by running medium and small enterprises. For example, some provinces and prefectures which can grow sugar cane and sugar beet set up sugar refineries while others that have forest and reed resources develop the paper industry. Some heavy industrial centers pay attention to the production of machinery, hardware and chemical articles for daily use. They have contributed to the whole and speeded up the expansion of local light industries. Kwangsi Chuang Nationality Autonomous Region, originally weak in industrial foundation, has in recent years seriously carried out the policy of developing light

industry according to local conditions in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. Self-reliantly it has set up various raw material bases producing sugar cane, jute, fruit and vegetables to develop the production of sugar, gunny bags and canned foods. Light industrial production has risen by a wide margin. From 1971 to 1974, simultaneous with the rapid development of agriculture and heavy industry, the gross output value of light industry increased by an average of about 15 percent annually. The growth of light industry has promoted the development of heavy industry and agriculture. This is a good experience.

Attention must also be paid in developing light industry to making full use of the existing industrial base, using old enterprises and the original industrial foundation and developing their potential through technical innovations and technical transformation. To develop the national economy, we must build a number of new enterprises according to plan, but we must not think of only new plants and new projects in developing production. China has laid a foundation in industry in the course of more than two decades of building. The level of production will be greatly raised and we can do more at lower costs if we make full use of the existing industrial bases, boldly arouse the masses, make extensive technical innovations and systematically transform the outdated factories in a planned way. The growth of the Shanghai textile industry is a case in point. A century-long industrial base, Shanghai, has made full use of its old factories and machines thanks to the strenuous efforts made by workers and cadres in the past 25 years. Last year's total industrial output value was 4.5 times the 1949 figure. This is an important way to achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in developing industry.

Full utilization of the existing industrial bases for developing production presupposes successful socialist cooperation. Socialist public ownership of the means of production has opened up a vast field for organizing industrial cooperation. Many problems which cannot be solved in a single enterprise or a single industry may be solved easily through raising the degree of industrial organization. Ch'angchou city in Kiangsu province does not have a big textile industry. But it organized related enterprises to undertake a rational division of labor around certain main products and appropriately raised the degree of specialization. As a result, the comprehensive productive capacity of the entire industry has been considerably increased, and labor productivity has reached the nation's advanced level.

At present, workers of light industrial departments, as the people of the whole country, are seriously studying Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory. By further raising our understanding of the Party's basic line and the policy of "agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor" through such study and penetratingly developing the mass movement of "In industry, learn from Tach'ing" under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we shall assuredly be able to boost light industrial production.

* * *

Do Commodity Supply Work Well for the Revolution

by

Party Branch of the Hsitan Vegetable Market in Peking

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 7, July 1, 1975

Our Hsitan Vegetable Market is a large non-staple food market which mainly provides chickens, ducks, fish, meat, eggs and various kinds of vegetables to meet the livelihood needs of the people. It not only assumes responsibility for supplying more than a thousand families in the local district and more than a hundred government offices and factories, but also serves thousands of transient customers who come from all over the city and those who come to the capital from other areas.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "to develop the economy and to insure supply is our general policy for economic and financial work." In order to improve our commodity supply work, to adapt it still more to the development of socialist production and meet the livelihood needs of the masses, under the guidance of this general policy, we issued an open letter to the various fraternal units and our many customers on the eve of May Day, during the high tide of studying Chairman Mao's important directives on theoretical questions; it called for resolutely correcting the erroneous work style of the bourgeoisie and striving to improve our commodity planning and supply work. After the open letter was published, we received the warm support of the leadership, the broad masses and fraternal units. All of the staff and workers at the market received a profound education and great encouragement from this and everyone was determined to serve the people wholeheartedly and further transform their service work.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. These can only be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat." Because of the existence of the commodity system, socialist commerce has a very important role to play in the national economy. The distribution of consumer goods among individuals is realized primarily through commerce. Our retail store must, in carrying out its work, meet the livelihood needs of the people by distributing some consumer goods among the masses. Having studied theory on proletarian dictatorship has made us understand that so long as exchange through money exists, the existence of bourgeois right is unavoidable; capitalist ideology and bourgeois activities will have their market. Linking up the reality of the struggle between the two classes and the two lines with our market has made us profoundly realize that if we are to improve our commodity supply work, we must not only "serve with a pleasant attitude and fewer mistakes" but must also criticize capitalist tendencies and further restrict bourgeois right in the distribution of consumer goods.

Commodity supply work is a component part of the socialist revolution and definitely not a simple matter of you buy and I sell, with money in one hand and goods in the other. This is a matter of carrying out

policy. The Party's various policies and regulations with respect to commodity supply have been drawn up in a spirit which accords with the Party's basic line; they embody both the Party's concern for the livelihood of the masses and provide the necessary restrictions concerning some matters of bourgeois right. Under existing conditions, commodities are still not able to fully meet the needs of the masses, and in order to guarantee the livelihood needs of the people, and to reduce the actual inequalities of livelihood in society, the Party has adopted supply methods in many forms for the distribution of consumer goods. These measures have guaranteed, on the basis of developing production, that the basic needs of the people's livelihood can be met and gradually improved. To do commercial work well is beneficial to arousing socialist activism among the masses, to the development of industrial and agricultural production and to the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship. Our commercial workers must take the carrying out of Party policies and regulations as their basic responsibility, ceaselessly criticizing capitalist ideology and correcting erroneous work styles.

The commercial front is just like other fronts and is also an important battlefield of fierce contention between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The garbage inherited from the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes from the past is still giving off a bad smell. The old ideology of securing "a vantage point" and of "feeding on one's profession" often affects our office staff and workers. Some people always reckon that if those in commerce take advantage of their position to buy a few things it is not a matter of any importance. The study of proletarian dictatorship has raised our understanding and unified our thinking; we are determined to use proletarian thought and work style to do a better job of running socialist commerce. We handle commodities every day and each of us has a specified control over certain commodities. With respect to this power of control, it becomes a question of principle as to whom we serve, whether it is to serve the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers or the private interests of an individual or a small minority of people. This power has been given to us by the Party and the masses, we can only use it to serve the masses in every way possible. If we do not discuss principle, do not manage things according to policy, take some commodities that are in short supply but high demand by the masses and do not put them on the market, but distribute them internally or send them to close relatives, then we may cause anxiety among those who are really in need but unable to buy and cause others to buy still more; this provokes a man-made tension in the market and undermines planned supply. In this way we are bound to bring about very great inconvenience to the livelihood of the broad masses and affect the relationship between the Party and the masses of people.

The decadent old concept of "convenience for others, convenience for oneself" also has an effect on how we carry out policy and how well we do our planned supply work. This view is not a matter of convenience for the people but is a matter of one's own convenience. By this logic, commodity supply would be a matter of selling to whomever makes it convenient for us. Otherwise, we wouldn't sell or we would sell less; this is the complete bourgeois "business classic" of profit-grabbing. If we use this kind of ideology to carry out cooperation, we may then cause the bourgeois principle of commodity exchange to undermine socialist relations of unity and cooperation and of helping one another. To carry out socialist

cooperation we must proceed from the overall interest and promote the communist style. If we depart from Party principle and betray Party policies then it is out of the question to speak of any socialist cooperation. Chairman Mao has taught us: "We must advocate keeping the overall situation in mind. Every Party member, in all local work and in every word and deed must take the overall interest of the Party as the point of departure; there can be absolutely no violation of this principle." Our handling of commodities is to meet the needs of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and we definitely cannot run counter to the interests of the masses, nor barter away principles in the interests of a small clique. In matters of transport, technical innovation and so forth, our market must have some help from fraternal units; some people hold that if we have to ask help from people then we must provide a bit of convenience for them. As a result, the phenomena of supply not in accord with plans, exceeding limits by large margins and granting special "treatment" have all taken place in these units. This not only violates Party policy but also creates a very bad influence. If this kind of erroneous work style is not corrected, then it may affect our socialist orientation in serving the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers.

Some people take the correction of these erroneous styles as something that is "long-standing, big and difficult" holding that the old style stops for a while during a movement but returns after the movement is over; there are also people who worry that if they don't show a little concern for the units they cooperate with, there will be difficulties in doing business later on. In fact, if only we uphold Party principle and truly do ideological and organizational work well, such old forces of habit and old ideological work styles all can be gradually dispensed with. In order to do this work well, we have used such forms as broadcasts, blackboard bulletins, discussion meetings and so forth to carry out widespread dissemination of our open letter among the masses and we have promoted mutual help and supervision by the masses. At the same time, we have also convened discussion meetings in the relevant organs and factories, inspected problems in our work, criticized capitalist tendencies and studied measures to improve supply work in the future. These work methods have won the warm support of the broad masses and cooperating units. Some of the procurement personnel who have cooperative relations with us have said: "We resolutely support the open letter and will do all we can to help you with difficulties in the future." Those individuals who come to our door looking for special consideration have also been persuaded to transform their attitude. Facts have shown us that to uphold Party policy and to resist the erroneous work style of the bourgeoisie is the common desire of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. If only we commercial workers, particularly the leadership cadres, make examples of ourselves, then we will be able to succeed in our struggle to criticize the erroneous work style of the bourgeoisie.

To carry out Party policies well, to do a good job of rational distribution of commodities and supply work, we must also go deeply among the masses to do investigation and research. In order to do everything

possible to rationally meet the needs of the people, the Party and Government have adopted many methods for supplying commodities. However, real life conditions are complex in many ways, and we cannot provide a single formula for each concrete problem that we meet. To fulfill the needs of the masses still better, we must also, according to different conditions and on the basis of planned supply, make concrete arrangements and well thought-out solutions. We are overcoming the old administrative work style of "managing commerce by sitting in the shop and waiting for customers" and we go deep among the residents, organs and factories to carry out investigation and research. By the method of holding meetings, we propagate Party policies to the masses and related units, explain conditions relating to the source of supply and volume of commodities and supply methods as well as solicit their opinions. Within the scope that policy permits, in accord with the different needs of consumers, appropriate adjustments can be made in the case of certain commodities. For example, some units only want to use alkaline but not soda while other units want just the opposite; we then help make mutual adjustments to meet the needs of both sides. As for the broad residential areas, we take commodities that are favored by the masses but in short supply and make scheduled deliveries to their door which is both convenient for the masses and meets the general requirements. In visiting the homes, if there are special consumer needs, we do our best to solve them. There was a granny who, because of illness, had to have unsalted soya; after a salesman learned of this he bought it from a soya factory and sent it to her home. Moved to tears, the granny said: "I am grateful to the Party, to Chairman Mao and the comrades of the vegetable market; you truly are at home in commercial work."

We have scored some success since we issued our open letter but it is still just a beginning. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's important instruction concerning theoretical questions, we must definitely continue to go deeper into the study of proletarian dictatorship, resolutely carry out the Party's line and policies, strive to transform our world outlook, continuously improve our service attitude, raise the quality of our service, truly do a good job in the rational distribution of commodities and in our supply work and wholeheartedly serve the people.

* * *

END

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Technical Information Service
Springfield, Va. 22161

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PRINTED MATTER

AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COM-211

U.S. MAIL

CMP
UNIV ILLINOIS LIB AT CHICAGO CIRCLE X751231 001
LIB SERIALS SEC
BOX 8198
CHICAGO IL 60680